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A HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF
JUDAISM 500 TO 200 B.C.

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A HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF JUDAISM

500 TO 200 B.C.

BY
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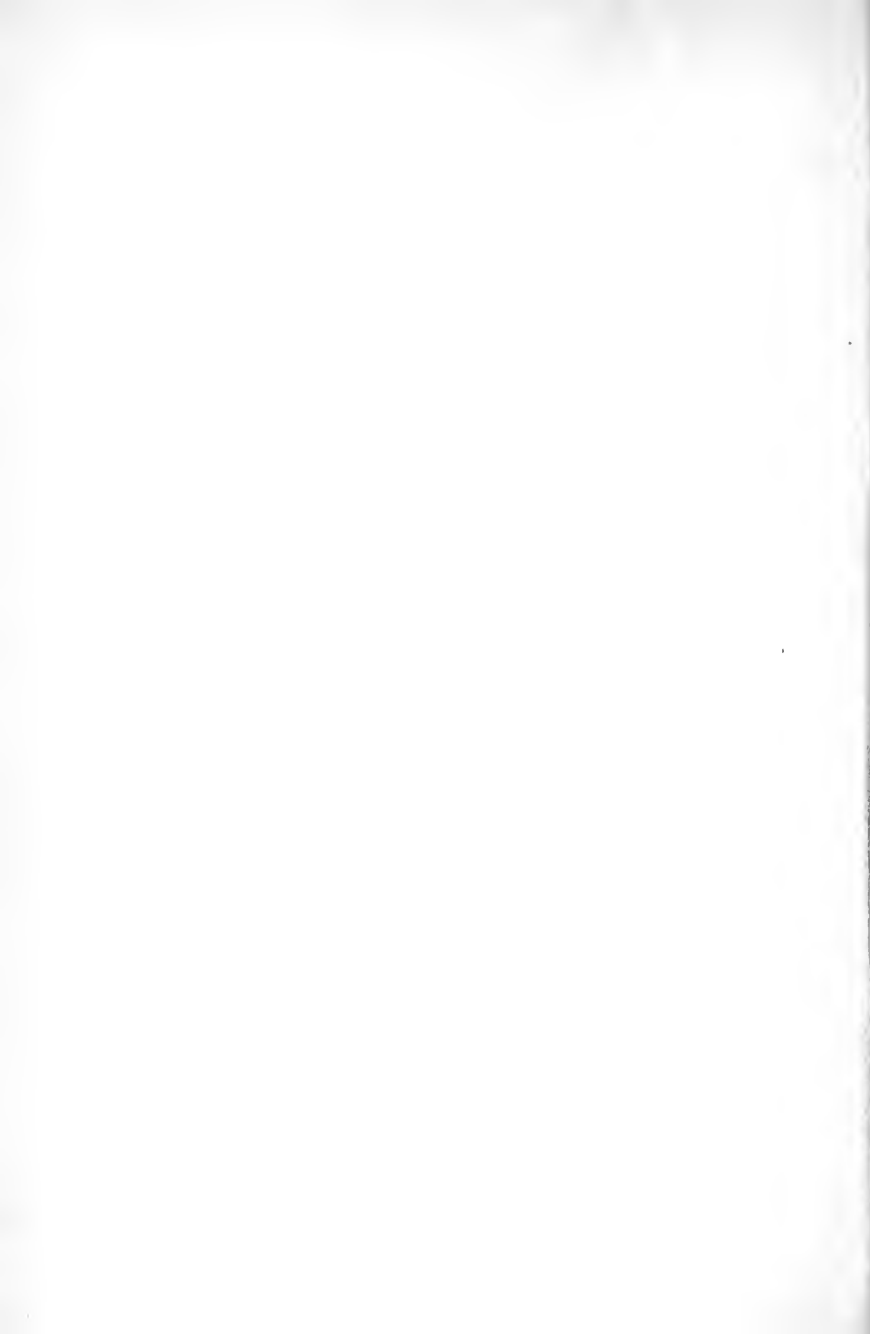
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MY DEVOTED HELPER

Sine qua non



PREFACE

I UNDERTAKE this task, too large I fear for my power, for several reasons. First, after fifty years of strenuous toil in Montreal and in Bradford, in teaching to many what the Old Testament is, I feel that it would be wrong to throw away unused the mass of lectures I prepared for my classes by a great deal of busy search ; so I publish some of my results now.

Secondly, I am eager to see the Old Testament used. To say that actually it is almost unused is no exaggeration. I know this disuse is caused by mistaken theories and methods. Only the historical and critical method can bring men to use it ; for it is a work of men, and only the Divinely human estimate of it and use of it will induce men to know it and to love it. Many ministers are afraid to use it : afraid of its difficulties, afraid of "fundamentalism." Let us play the man. Some unwise minister wished publicly a few days ago that this great Literature might be destroyed, buried in the ocean ! That wish cannot be fulfilled, else JESUS would be destroyed ; for that Literature is part of Him. When the wonderful beauty and genuine humanity of its writers are seen, then its romance will win everybody. Since JESUS was the Child of the Jewish People, therefore we cannot know Him really until we know the Old Testament.

Thirdly, I am deeply convinced that so-called Christianity has done untold injury to the Jews. Our dense ignorance of their pre-Christian story

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is to be blamed. When we come to see their deep spirituality in the ages when they were producing JESUS—let us say, when God was producing Him by their lives—when we see the PSALMS, ISAIAH, the whole, as it poured from Jewish hearts, then we shall prize this Literature.

Finally, I am sure that only such knowledge of JESUS will save our Churches from their present sad helplessness.

I owe unmeasured thankfulness to many. Professor Duhm of Basel University has been for long years my inspiration and my leader. Of my other noble teachers I must mention with glad gratitude Eduard Riehm, Paul de Lagarde, Julius Wellhausen, T. K. Cheyne, W. Robertson Smith, B. W. Bacon. These have been verily prophets of God for me. My students of the past half-century have all cheered me on. Of these especially, the Rev. G. Stanley Russell, M.A., of Clapham, has revised and rewritten many a page for me ; while the sainted Dr. J. H. Jowett was Russell's counsellor in such rewritings, as well as he was my strength by many a gracious word to me.

A. D.

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SECTION I

THE BASIS OF JUDAISM

It is, of course, obvious that the religion of the Jews in the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Jesus rests upon the old Hebrew religion which lived from early times until the tremendous catastrophe which occurred when Babylon took the nation away into slavery by a series of deportments, of which the terrible cruelties are perhaps reflected in some of the Psalms. Let it be said at once that this Exile is the critical event of Old Testament History and one of the vital happenings in the history of the world. It is hard to realize how the old religion disappeared, and a new religion came; how even the greater part of the Hebrew stock disappeared from history, leaving only the Jewish Remnant; how by far the greater number of the Exiles remained in that foreign land which—to their fathers a prison—had become to them, born, reared, and associated there, a home.

In considering the religion of this later and properly Jewish period now before us, it is not possible therefore to omit some survey of the pre-exilic Hebraism. Hebraism drew its original sources from those early great peoples who dwelt as far east as Babylon and as far south-west as Egypt. It rose slowly through long centuries of tribal cruelties, until at last, about 750 B.C., the great moral prophets—that noble company whose chief spirits were AMOS, HOSEA, and ISAIAH—arrested and diverted its course. Then it unfolded rapidly and progressed wonderfully, until in slavery on the plains of Mesopotamia men lifted their souls to the sublime height reflected in those Songs which have found their way into the Book of Isaiah and form there a little episode all their own, inserted in Chapters xlii. to liii. Whoever the singer—or school of singers of these insertions—may have been, there was then grasped the idea of the Hebrew people's universal mission, even if it must be at the expense of their own national life.

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CHAPTER I AMONG FOREIGN PEOPLES

Egypt.—We are led back to times long before Abraham is believed to have lived, and to that wonderful land of the Nile where all is old and yet ever wonderfully new. Egyptian life and religion rose to supreme heights in that early nation. When the Neolithic men returned from their long sojourn in equatorial Africa, whither they had been pushed by the terrible ice-sheets of perhaps a million years ago, they found the glacier-streams of the Ruwenzori Mountains and the outflow of the great Central African lakes making, with the retreat of the ice, a course for the Nile. Along the line of that stream they found a wonderful road to the Mediterranean Sea, helping them to get away from the torrid heats of the Equator. They must have lingered long upon their way ere they reached what are now the shores of the famous inland ocean, but all the time of their slow “trek” they were advancing in thoughtfulness. Even about 4000 B.C. they had invented for themselves that arrangement of lunar and solar months and weeks, of days and years, which distinguishes our calendar to this day. They had also become skilled in fine artistic carving of wood, stone, and

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metal, as specimens still extant bear witness. Spiritually, too, they were advancing, for their mode of disposing of their dead reveals a firm belief in an after-life. The most remarkable illustrations of their religion and art are to be found in the vast pyramidal tombs and the underground caves for their royal dead, which were commenced even in 3000 B.C.

Altogether some thirty successive dynasties of princes ruled Egypt from 3400 B.C. to the Christian era. Of these the XVIIIth—which reigned roughly about half-way between those dates (say, 1500–1300 B.C.)—rose to its flower in a king who, delicate in body, was mentally far ahead of his age. This was the famous Amenhotep IV. He felt moved to change his name to “Akhn-Aton,” which means “Spirit of God,” and the change symbolizes his real greatness. He inherited an immense empire: to the south it extended up the Nile almost to the Equator; to the north-west it touched the Euphrates. The wealth of king and nation was fabulous: we read that “they measured gold by the basketful.” Mines on the Abyssinian and Arabian coasts furnished granite, marble, gold, and jewels. Between the Nile and the Red Sea thousands of workers in quarries hewed blocks for magnificent sarcophagi, in which the mummied forms of the royal and the great dead should rest. Some of these stone coffins lie dishonoured now in the pyramids and elsewhere; others are to be found unfinished in the quarries where they were abandoned long ago. The artistic attainment and production of that time were wonderful; for example, the Colossi of Memnon, made by this

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same king's (Akhn-Aton's) father, surpass most sculpture that has since been wrought. Drawings and paintings with colours as fresh as if done yesterday, with a life-like outlining and shading which might be called intensely modern, seem as if they had been prepared for our Academy or the Paris Salon. Some of their marble sculptures of the human form vie in beauty and correctness with the Greek productions of Plato's day, one thousand years later. Greece surely learned sculpture from Egypt.

Even more wonderful was the mental attainment of Egypt in that far-distant epoch. Its poetry is often exquisite; its philosophic grasp reaches a lofty theism. Professor Breasted of Chicago has given in his splendid *History of Egypt* fine illustrations both of the art and the literature. It is perhaps not unnatural that the priesthood of the royal city of Thebes, well-organized, crafty, wealthy, and essentially conservative, felt such an enlightened and progressive ruler intolerable and sought to curb him. The king, however, refused to bend; he transported his whole court, government, and capital city three hundred miles down the Nile; and on the spot of his choice he built a new and splendid city which he named "AKHET-ATON" — "The horizon of God." The ruins of that exquisite royal abode are well known to us to-day, and their site is now named Tel-el-Amarna. There we find, partly buried among the shifting sands, the remains of the Archives of his government, containing large quantities of correspondence, chiefly in the cuneiform script which Babylon had made current all over the world. From these imperial

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letters, reports, orders, we discover much of this noble king's story and outlook. Military generals far away towards the Euphrates, facing the invasions of mutinous tribes, sought for more men and munitions from the king. AKHN-ATON's religion, however, had made him something like a pre-Christian member of the Society of Friends: he declined to fight. Obviously, with a world as it was then, his foreign power waned, and we may be glad that it did! What would the world have become otherwise? With it waned his prestige. When he died at the early age of thirty-four, after ruling for seventeen years, the priestly and military parties soon accomplished a retrogression. Egypt sank back to her former ways; the name of the so-called "Heretic King" was chiselled out of his own inscriptions and monuments; and some rather superficial thinkers ask nowadays, "What good did such a foolish, indiscreet idealist accomplish?"

The answer comes when we read the books of AMOS, HOSEA, ISAIAH, and MICAH, and "E." These men did not create the remarkable moral reformation at the head of which they stood. They were rather its progressing manifestation. The movement had its source, and fountain, deep down in the nature of the whole Hebrew people. This might be gathered from the new way in which those prophetic utterances were cherished and preserved. It was AKHN-ATON's influence that slowly made the religion of the Hebrews who surrounded these prophets; and that fact is shown by the strong effort made about 700 B.C. to discard the old Iahwistic narratives about patriarchs and

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David, and all the past, which we call "J." They wrote the new "E" story, hoping to prove that the primitive Hebrews had not been so low in morality as the earlier Iahwistic narrators had suggested. The ancient "J" statement that Abram expelled Hagar from his tents, pregnant though she was with his own offspring, to bring her babe to birth in the desert amid peril and thirst, is not likely to have been invented. The new tale of the Elohistic reformers says that the expulsion happened when the boy Ishmael was at least ten years old, and capable of being trained as a hunter; but the change strikes us naturally with suspicion. That is only one illustration of the fact that the new "E" writers, working under the new moral influence, believed that there had been in ancient times a far higher level of thought and conduct than the older historians had recorded. This new narrative, technically known as the "Elohist" or "E," contains the singular story that MOSES brought down from the mountain no mere rules for tribal feasts and ceremonies, as the former "J" historian had contended; but he brought a high moral code, which, however, by the people was rejected, "thrown down and broken." Then, says "E," Iahweh suffered the substitution of "J's" Decalogue. In other words, according to "E," MOSES tried to found a State on a lofty and theistic basis—AKHN-ATON's principles really—; this proved futile, and then the nation was reorganized on its former level. There seems to be in this double story a sort of echo from "E's" day, 700 B.C., of a tradition of the long-ago, a sort of claim that the nobility of AKHN-ATON was visible in MOSES, who had been

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a pupil of the Egyptian court, and had doubtless learned there, as Acts vii. says, what AKHN-ATON had been and done. The story in "E" suggests that the generation which produced "E" believed that, while the great Egyptian king had seemed to have worked in vain, he had transmitted his ideal to MOSES; and it had passed on, flowing underground, as it were, amongst the traditions of the Hebrew people, until AMOS and his comrades preached their noble ideals about 750 B.C. There had arisen by that time even a popular hunger for reformation, and men listened to the preachers telling them outwardly what their own hearts testified within. Out of this came all that led up to the great heights of JEREMIAH and ISAIAH liii. AKHN-ATON's work was neither lost nor foolish: it was a direct source of inspiration to that course of religious evolution which culminated in JESUS of Nazareth. MOSES, born under or soon after the reign of the high-souled ruler, AKHN-ATON, probably went out and organized a tribe in the deserts south of Canaan, among the Sinaitic mines of Egypt; there he tried to lead these people into what are incontestably just the ideals of AKHN-ATON: ideals which, though rejected at first, men rose to follow at last. That is surely the Egyptian contribution to the religion of that little nation which has had such an enormous influence on the world of to-day, and out of which Christianity was born.

Babylon. — The Babylonian contributions to Hebrew origins are scarcely less wonderful. While the very early Egyptians were advancing in the ways described, some of their neolithic kindred had pushed across the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb into

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Arabia, where they became the primitive Semites. There, before any of them migrated up the Persian Gulf, they developed that characteristic trilateralism of word-roots which always betrays the family connexion of the Semite group of languages, no matter where they are afterwards found. Then from this old Arabian home they set out in waves of emigration—waves perhaps separated by ages—seeking larger places of settlement. They sought especially the delta of the Euphrates, where they assimilated much of the civilization of the earlier inhabitants, the so-called Sumerian and Accad peoples; and more particularly they learned the comprehension and use of the cuneiform writing. This fact shows how soon these Semites began to reach out after literary effort. We are fortunate in possessing to-day the library of the Assyrian king ASSURBANIPAL, who reigned about 650 B.C. At the destruction of Nineveh, his capital, his great library was buried beneath the ruins; but our excavators have now revealed its enormous and most varied wealth. That king had secured copies of original works dating from one, two, or even three millenniums before his own day. Some of these, made about 4000 B.C., are the Babylonian poems of Creation. They might almost be called the “Spring Songs of the Euphrates,” for they sing how every year the dreaded floods from the glaciers of Ararat subside, how the sunlight pierces the mists of the inundations, and life always springs up once more. It was from these “Babylonian Spring Songs” that the Hebrews, during their exile in Babylon, learned to sing their own poem of dawning life and constant creation. Their

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descendant, NEHEMIAH, the Persian Vizier, got it all written down as it is in Genesis i., in the roll which, as we shall see, became the foundation of Judaism about four hundred years before Christ. So did Babylon help to make the Jews.

Another notable contribution Babylon rendered. Some two thousand years after the rise of the originals of these poems, and two thousand also before the Christian era, there arose the first dynasty of the first Babylonian empire. It was long before the days of ABRAHAM, for at earliest the Hebrew progenitor lived about 1800 B.C. Now the sixth king of the dynasty just named was HAMURABI, of, say, 2200 B.C. He was a profoundly religious man and intensely in earnest in his desire to raise and refine the moral condition of his people ; so he caused a great collection to be made of all the chief decisions made by the Babylonian law courts through many ages, including his own ; of these he formed a code, so excellent that even now legal men study it to their profit. That code he engraved on a great pillar, long lost in the ruins of Shushan ; but to-day preserved in the Louvre. It has been translated into modern speech. A careful comparison of these laws of HAMURABI with the successive codes contained in the Pentateuch show that the Babylonian legal contribution to Hebraism was a foundation platform for Judaism and indeed for all our civilization.

Thus, if the influence of AKHN-ATON of Egypt is felt in the reformation that came about under the moral prophets of Israel, the help of HAMURABI of Babylon is equally discernible. For when the new " E " writers felt that what we call the " Ten

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Commandments" did not furnish nearly enough ethical guidance for life, they at once incorporated additional rules based upon HAMURABI. Thus in the moral march towards the spiritual heights that appeared first of all in the Slave Songs in Isaiah xlii., xlix., l., and liii., and finally in the Life of Jesus, the power of these two great streams of influence is clearly visible.

CHAPTER II

TRIBAL HEBRAISM

THE earliest Hebrew life is shrouded in mist. It is called the "Patriarchal Age," but we know singularly little about its persons or events. The three or four generations that immediately succeed AB-RAM, the "High Father"—perhaps 1800 B.C.—are very briefly sketched in Genesis. Clearly they were of the nomad nature so carefully described in Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*. They were tribal in everything, and therefore savage to any tribes outside their own. Their God IAHWEH was like themselves—interested in His own tribesmen only, ready even for the massacre of alien clans. Their religion was "sacrificial"—i.e. the slaughter of a sacred animal and a sharing in a common tribal and religious feast, eating together joyfully the flesh of such a specially tribal animal. The blood was the God IAHWEH's share, awarded Him by pouring it on the ground as a libation. Smith uses the excellent word "commensal" to describe those feasts. We gather much the same ideas concerning such tribal Religion from the letters, etc., in the Archives of AKHN-ATON discovered at Tel-el-Amarna, which describe the invasion of Palestine by the "Habiri" about 1500 B.C., nomads who were seeking the rich agricultural areas of Canaan as their home instead of the deserts and oases of Arabia of their old abodes.

The semi-Egyptian leader MOSES tried hard to organize these nomad and adventuring people and

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to lead them to their destiny in new lands, but he did not wholly succeed, as we have seen. His successor in the chieftaincy, Joshua, was a man of even more thoroughly tribal character. His military methods—especially in relation to defeated foes—are almost too horrible to read. Following him was a long list of similar men of blood, who sought to combine and organize the sections of the tribe into one whole; and these so-called “Judges” seem to have been chieftains who were especially occupied in trying to unite the quarrelling factions of the people. None succeeded until there arose “David” (דָּוִד), i.e. “Justly Beloved One,” the man after IAHWEH’s own heart, i.e. a man eager to make Iahweh’s people a success. He welded the sub-tribes into one kingdom and established a dynasty which was expected to endure for ever. Even this skilful soldier and diplomat was not finally successful; for, soon after his death in perhaps about 1000 B.C., there came a fissure into two rival kingdoms—Judah and Israel—which existed side by side for three hundred years. Then the section in the fertile north—Israel—was swallowed up by Assyria and carried into slavery. The southern kingdom of Judah, dwelling chiefly on the highlands and lofty limestone hills, was better protected and less desirable, so it endured for another century, until Babylon bore its people off to a similar captivity.

It was about DAVID’s time, say 1000 B.C., that the earliest writers collected into literary form their Iliad-like “Story of Man and the Hebrews,” which we call the Iahwistic “J.” The singular reference of “J” in Genesis iii. to the Serpent clan as a leader

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in development is quite possibly, or probably, a glorification of the work of DAVID, whose clan-totem was the Snake (נָחָשׁ) Nahash, whose labours are meant to be celebrated as having brought the people to maturity in "knowledge of what is good and what is bad." That maturity meant the sensible welding of the various sections of the tribe for common service; but it must necessarily have left doubts among the more conservative men of the nation as to the attitude of IAHWEH, who, like themselves, as they thought, might well prefer the old traditional mutual independence. This doubt about the wisdom of DAVID's work of unification persists through the whole story; until two conservative "seers"—ELIJAH and ELISHA—led a bloodthirsty effort to secure the separation of the Hebrews from all outsiders. But that was the last flash of the old tribal fire. A century later Elisha's commission to a soldier, Jehu, inciting him to assassinate the royal family, was condemned in the strongest terms by HOSEA as a sin certain of punishment. HOSEA is a proof that the slowly developing sense of righteousness was shocked by the tribal religion and its bloodthirsty methods. Just at the same time the march of the Assyrian TIGLATH-PILESER III across Palestine to attack Egypt brought terror to every Hebrew. Judah and Jerusalem possessed a measure of safety by reason of their mountain fastnesses; but in the north all men were in stark terror. Assyria would devour them. Then it was that AMOS preached his new conception of IAHWEH as the one road to deliverance. "Seek good: so will IAHWEH be with you," he cried, and all men bowed before this new moral hope. It

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was a new gospel, and its reception was almost immediate ; and it was wonderfully unanimous. The northern kingdom Israel was indeed destroyed, but the prophet's sermons were saved to be a light of a new and heavenlier sort for the people of southern Judea.

CHAPTER III

MORAL HEBRAISM

THUS we enter a new era. The old tribal conception had received sentence of death : the new moral outlook had been born. Very briefly, its chief features may be seen in the more notable teachings of the four great leaders. AMOS cried out (ch. v.) :

“Ye are dying, O ye Hebrews, under the invaders’ tread !

“Seek the Life-giver, even IAHWEH, and ye shall live !

“Seek not sanctuaries with their feasting and joys ; for they are useless now—

“If ye will have the grand key to life, I declare it to you,

“Seek good, and while you are in the seeking, IAHWEH will be with you.”

It was only a herdsman who thus sounded the first great keynote of that music which ended in Christianity. It was a gospel for all ages. A north-country courtier, HOSEA, probably heard AMOS preach, and soon followed in raising a similar strain. He sternly repudiated the murderous work done in Jezreel by the usurper Jehu, under the order of Elisha, and with it he condemned the old tribalism by which it was inspired. HOSEA also proclaimed that “Divine Grace” is the chief attribute of IAHWEH, rather than the old tribal vengeance with which they had credited Him, as they had practised

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it themselves. How tender, but how divinely powerful is his Chant (ch. xi.) :

“ O Israel, how should I give thee up ?

“ My own heart turns against Me, as I think to punish thee.

“ Verily My compassion is enkindled—

“ I will not deal with thee according to My hot anger !

“ I will not destroy Ephraim again,

“ For I am a God, not a man !

“ I am holy and devoted in thy midst—

“ I do not come as a vulture, or as a lion.”

Thus is enshrined in words of crystal clearness and sacred purity the new and gracious spirit. The Holiness of IAHWEH was declared to be His devotion—His forgiving love. Soon after this rose ISAIAH. The lad was inspired as by a vision in a lightning storm. He heard all earth and heaven declare IAHWEH's devoted holiness, IAHWEH's vast, utter, saving love for His people. The youth felt himself made pure in lips, for powerful speech. Young man he was ; and youth-like he went out to make men good by denunciation. Beautiful and majestic are those early chapters, ii.-v., but at their close we hear the prophet's wail. He has failed to save by wrath. Then he is reminded in his inner soul of that tender first call to himself, when a kind and loving grace made him clean. Henceforth he preaches for other sinful men that same grace which had cleansed himself, and he—or the collectors of his words—felt that chapter vi. must have, not its chronological place as the prologue to

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his whole work, but rather its moral position as the prologue underlying chapters vii. and onwards. In this later portion he so preached that AHAZ, hitherto a graceless young man, became the bulwark of the prophetic work; and when this king died ISAIAH chanted his requiem with solemn gratitude. It cannot be too often stated that the verdicts on the monarchs in Kings and Chronicles very often reflect the docility of the writers towards the priestly caste, and the extent to which both priests and writers worked for tribal aloofness from other peoples. Those narratives do not prove any real excellence in those verdicts. Thus the traditional view given in Kings concerning AHAZ, MANASSEH, and others is quite sacerdotally prejudiced and is not borne out by facts. Neither is the view concerning HEZEKIAH correct, whose attitude toward the prophet ISAIAH was the reverse of friendly, as Isa. cc. xxviii. to xxxi. make abundantly clear. Nor should we omit to mention that other wonderful thought given in Isa. ch. viii. 16-18—typical of the moral reformation—which appears to be given concerning the reign of AHAZ—a reign which, according to the traditional view, was full of abominations. The prophet is sure that IAHWEH is with the king and himself, and in Zion—the city of AHAZ—and that the fact of IAHWEH's presence is proved by his own life and that of his children. These blessings the IAHWEH, who dwells in Mount Zion, has given. Obviously the prophet took a very different view of things from that of the detractors of AHAZ.

MICAH was also a preacher of goodness and grace; proclaiming especially in his sixth chapter

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almost an echo of AMOS' great oracle, but also touched by the spirit of HOSEA and ISAIAH :

"Wherewith shall we approach to IAHWEH ?

"He hath told thee what is good.

"What IAHWEH desires from thee, O man, is—

"Simply to do justice, to love grace, and to walk reverently with thy God."

Let us clearly realize that this reformation which these four prophets illustrate was not the work of one or two men but was divine in its long preparation, its immediate effect, and its widespread acceptance.

It was followed almost at once by the emergence of the new literary "E" school already named above ; indeed, this may even have accompanied the work of the four prophets. These new Epic writers—technically known as the "Elohists"—"E"—were so deeply impressed by the influence that had worked in the prophets, that they proceeded to re-write the story of their nation. Their document—"E"—can be read in restored and continuous form.¹ These writers protest against the awfulness of much of the morality ascribed to the fathers : mention has been made above of their "toning down" the "J" story of Hagar. Moreover, they controverted the theory which had required the sacrifice of every firstborn son. They declare that, when ABRAHAM had attempted it, IAHWEH intervened and plainly showed His disapproval of the pious instinct, which had at first

¹ See Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis and Triple Tradition of the Exodus* ; also Duff's *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, and a summary of it in his *Hebrew Theology and Ethics*.

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moved the patriarch to offer it. It is this Elohist school which depicts MOSES as the spiritual heir of AKHN-ATON, and animated by the Egyptian king's ideals. Occasionally the Elohists fall below their own standard—in, for instance, their stories of Joshua; but their standard is appreciably higher than that of the Iahwistic poet "J" or anything hitherto known.

This literary school, however, went even farther. The tremendous need for unity in the search for goodness and grace brought them to grasp and proclaim a plea for one central sanctuary. Formerly it had been believed that there might be many altars to the one God; but the tendency of each group to believe in the superior authenticity of its own altar was a dividing force. Soon many altars began to mean many Iahwehs, many leaders, many purposes, much strife. So the Reformers (*circa* 700 B.C.) came to write what is known as the DEUTERONOMIC document. This strikes the great note, destined to persist for ever:

"Hear, O Israel, our Divine IAHWEH is one
IAHWEH."

Not yet had they reached the heights of a universal monotheism; but they had at any rate resolved that there should be but One IAHWEH worshipped in their borders. The passage beginning with the words just quoted became—and remains to this day—a daily prayer of the Jew, comparable only in use with our own *Pater Noster*.

But now they sought to secure this unity by the apparently childish plan of having only one altar.

Moral Hebraism

The idea was nevertheless in some measure effective, and it brought a great change. We do reach here a remarkable development. Since attendance at the one sanctuary was not possible to all persons in all parts of the land, therefore *sacrifice ceased to be the predominant feature of their worship*. Sacrifice became gradually, and soon entirely, spiritual. Sacrifice was discarded for meditation, song, and prayer. Hence came the Synagogue in every community; and thence arose our churches.

We cannot linger over all the happenings between the writing of this DEUTERONOMIC document about 700 B.C. and its acceptance by King Josiah as the constitution of his little State, somewhere about 620. It is impossible, however, not to mention JEREMIAH's heroic struggle, and his plea for the religious outlook embodied in this "D" document. He saw that its essential value lay in its entirely spiritual basis and its wholesale repudiation of tribalism and local separatisms. So he preached the Divine omnipresence, declaring that their God IAHWEH would go with them even if they were carried to slavery in Babylon; and He was not confined to their own old land and soil. Especially, however, did the prophet proclaim a personal religion—the abode of IAHWEH within the individual soul. That was the swan-song of Hebraism. In the old land no other prophet spoke after that, until Judaism was born.

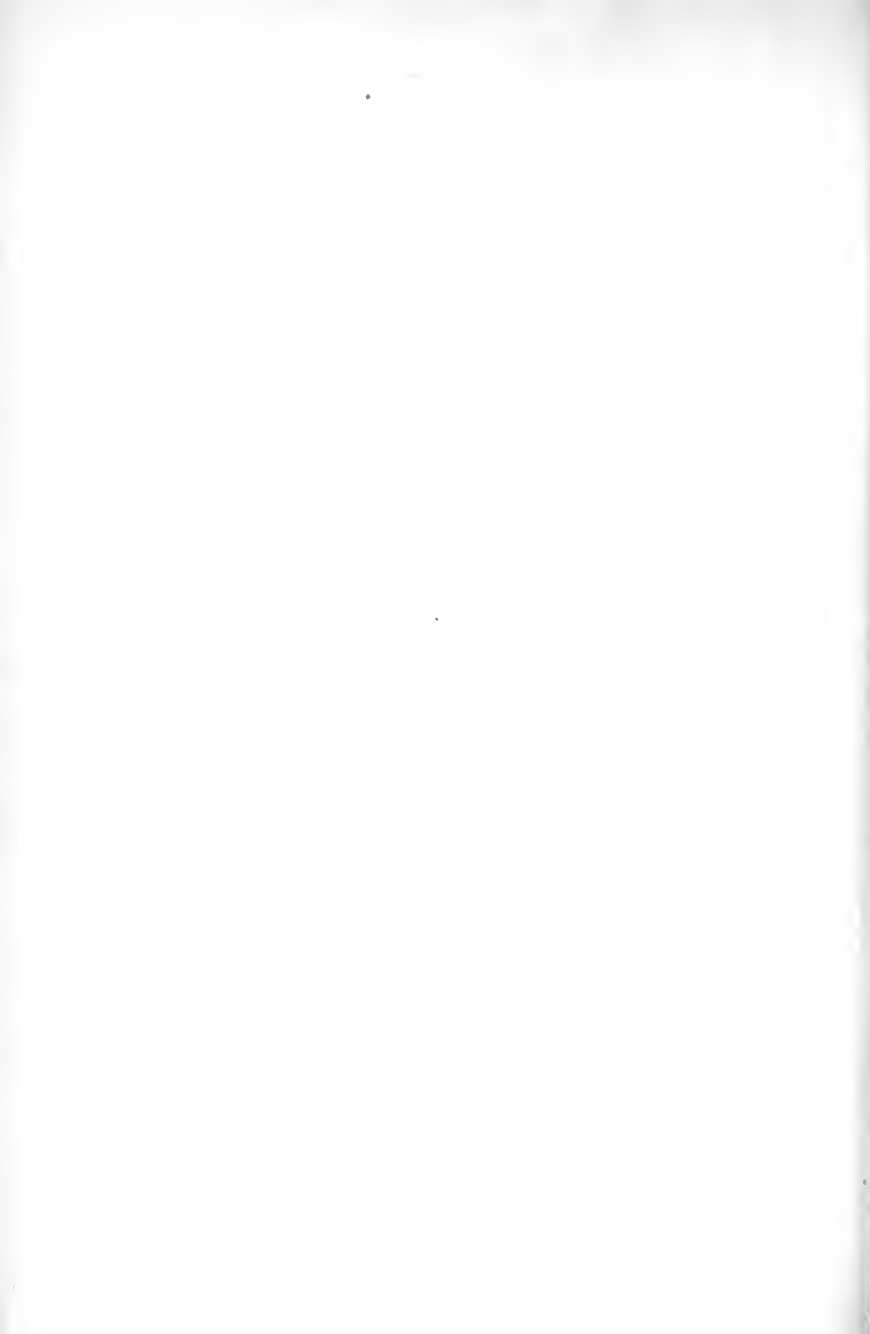
In Babylon, however, whither most of the thoughtful Hebrews were carried to exile and slavery, there arose a new and great problem for the preacher. It was faced by men like EZEKIEL,

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and by the writer of the "Holiness Law" (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), commonly called "H," by the singer of the "Comfort ye" poem (Isa. xl.-lv.), and by the writers of the four wonderful Songs of the Slave (Isa. xlii. 1-4; xlix. 1-6; l. 5-9; and liii.). Then it was finally faced by the masterly authors of the "Job" dramatic poems. All these thinkers asked themselves, "Why have we suffered so? Why do the righteous ever suffer?" As they penned their oracles and poems they lifted their eyes and souls to the very pinnacles of divine purpose and revelation; and at the summit of their search their divine IAHWEH unveiled before them the very essence of the work of JESUS: they saw coming a Crucifixion for themselves, and understood its meaning. Let us observe how marvellous an age of search and discovery over all the world in the realms of truth it was when that Exile came. Confucius and Lao-Tze were just then teaching a pure morality in China; Buddha was on the point of appearing to preach salvation in India; the neo-Zoroastrians were questioning the universe; Socrates and Æschylus were soon to bring Greece into the search for answers to these identical questions. But while all these were meditating so eagerly it was from an Egyptian heretic king that the foundation faith came; and from an older Babylonian prince came the moral sanctions with which the Hebrews set out on this spiritual road, long before Greece had marched towards it, and long before Latin thinking had awakened at all. Surely in a new sense from that of the traditionalists—and infinitely truer—we can believe in a "chosen" people.

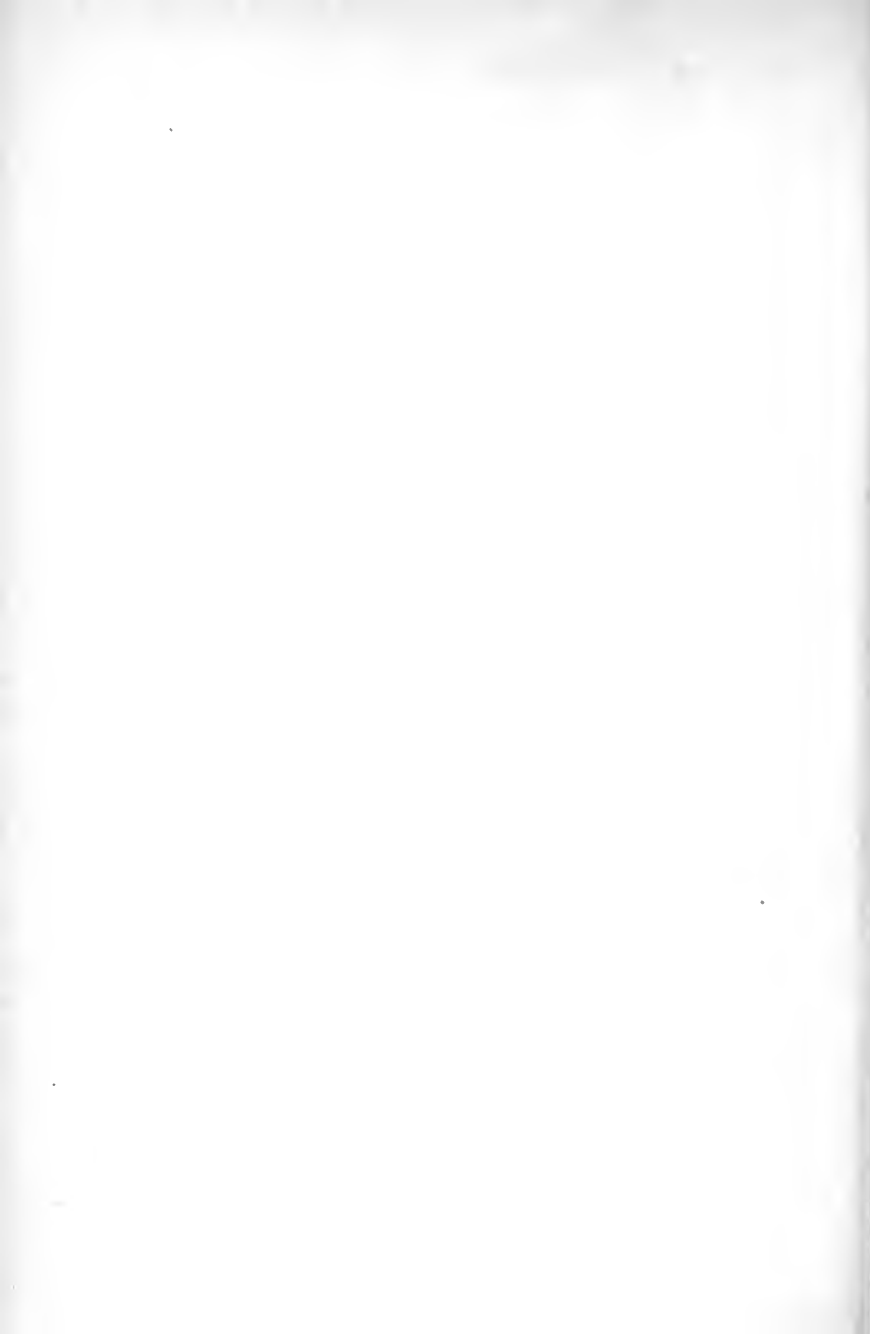
Moral Hebraism

Such was the Basis on which grew up the remarkable Jewish Religion. It was by no means the same as the old earlier Hebraism, either Tribal or Moral Hebraism ; but it was based on that, and we call it JUDAISM for various reasons. We proceed to study its successive phenomena in the literature which it produced throughout the period from 550 B.C. to A.D. 100.



SECTION II

THE CHILDHOOD OF JUDAISM



CHAPTER I

EARLY PEOPLE AND PROPHETS

I. WHEN Jerusalem fell finally before the armies of Babylon, a remarkable offer was made by the conquerors to the prophet JEREMIAH. It was the alternative choice of an honourable and comfortable exile in Babylon, or of absolute freedom to stay in Judæa with that "poor remnant of the people" who had not been thought worth the trouble of transportation across the desert. To the eternal glory of the prophet's name he chose the latter way, and the choice cost him his life. The poverty of that Remnant was not at all a guarantee of righteousness; and soon—after they had carried him with them to an Egyptian exile—his words became more and more unpopular, and ere long they murdered him.

But after he was carried away many of the poorer families remained in Judæa, cultivating its rich and long-tilled soil, and producing much fruit and consequent wealth. These were the Infant Jews. HAGGAI, who lived some eighty years after this exile began, speaks of "ceiled houses," which implies elegance as well as comfort; but there was evidently, judging by the stern words of this preacher, no eagerness to use any of their wealth to replace the sanctuary which the Babylonian invasion had destroyed. The descendants of these fairly comfortable people who remained entirely in Judæa can best be distinguished from the old Hebrews by the name "Jews." Thus they are

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justly and clearly to be marked off from their kinsmen the "Hebrews," the descendants of the exiles, who were still in Babylon—a thousand miles away. Contrary to traditional opinion, there is little doubt that very few of these exiled Hebrews ever returned. The new generation, born in the land of exile, ever becoming more and more rooted in it by every kind of association, produced very few men who ever allowed themselves to be swayed homeward by sentiment. Indeed, nobly inspired singers arose to declare that the once-longed-for return was too small a thing to ask of God. Rather should they pray that He would use them where they were—in the great world-metropolis, Babylon, the centre of human life and intercourse—to spread abroad His truth, so "that the knowledge of IAHWEH might cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." So the people who were in Judæa were really a new people, and ought to have the new name Judæans, or Jews. It was the religion of that Remnant which grew into the foundation of the religion of JESUS. Steadily it was lifted by the old instinct of prophecy which still burned, if with reduced vigour, amongst them; and it was fanned still more into flame by the marvellous utterances which found their way across the desert from a spiritual renaissance that was taking place in Babylon through the work of EZEKIEL, the SLAVE-SINGER, and their comrades.

2. Two classes of teachers arose in Judæa—the seers of visions, and the more truly spiritual leaders.

(i) Of the first sort the name which rises before us immediately is that of HAGGAI. It suggests rather an elementary or low grade of religious

Early People and Prophets

thought, for its meaning is similar to "Dervish" or "Whirling Dancer." His few little oracles create a much feebler atmosphere than did those of the ancient preachers; they were infinitely more feeble than the Slave Songs in Isa. xlii., xlix., l., and liii. Like EZEKIEL, he dates his utterances, telling us that all his work was done in the second and fourth years of Darius, that is, about 520 and 518 B.C. He emulates also EZEKIEL's love of material imagery. Again, like him, he exalts the guild of priests in Jerusalem. At the same time the thought of ISAIAH or JEREMIAH remains with him; and if he does not use the word "IMMANUEL," he knows and proclaims the presence of God with his people. His chief ideas are: IAHWEH desires the rebuilding of the Temple. HAGGAI points out that his wealthy hearers can no longer plead inability; and that, unless the GOD IAHWEH be worshipped by material gifts He will avenge Himself by material reprisals. Then, again, he stands firmly on the principle of one sanctuary only—the Deuteronomic principle accepted by JEREMIAH and EZEKIEL, and containing within it faith in the unity of the Jewish God. "Our Divine IAHWEH is one IAHWEH," sang the writers in what we call the Book of Deuteronomy; and we have seen that the cry is but the echo of HOSEA's notable discovery, "Many altars make many sins." It is in its adhesion to this principle, and by claiming that Zion must be the one Sanctuary, that Judaism finds its chief difference from Samaritanism. It is easy to see also how this made a tremendous change in the nature of Jewish worship. Sacrifice ceased to be the only way of communion between God and men,

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since Jerusalem was inaccessible to large numbers for long periods of the year, if not altogether for some; so local fellowships of speech, song, and meditation grew up in the various towns and villages; and hence the **SYNAGOGUE** began and became essential. The sermon began to be. Infant Judaism had to be a spiritual religion. The fundamental demand of **JESUS** for this spiritual worship will immediately come to mind, as will also His recognition—terribly heretical in the eyes of His time—of real if invisible spirituality and purity in Samaritan worship. How singular that that Samaritanism has persisted through all the centuries to our own day: sacrifices are still offered at Shechem.

(ii) Three booklets are tied together in the tiny volume we call **ZECHARIAH**. The second and third of these booklets (*a*) cc. ix.-xi., xiii. 7-9, and (*b*) cc. xii., xiii. 1-6, and xiv. respectively belong to the last two centuries B.C.; but cc. i.-viii. come from *circa* 520 B.C., and so fall within our period. Its opening shows by its use of Deuteronomic terms how the centralization principle had won its way. It reveals also an author who, like **HAGGAI** and **EZEKIEL**, dates his utterances and makes them in prose. He has two sets of visions. In the first six he begins with the desire for a rebuilt temple; and incidentally he mentions gifts for it sent from the exiles in far-away Babylon. From this oracle, dated 520 B.C.—the final enslavement having taken place about 590 B.C.—came the idea of an exile lasting about seventy years. Obviously, however, **ZECHARIAH** has no such notion of “seventy years,” and he never contemplated any Return of the

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Captives from Babylon. The prophet is conscious of the Divine Presence within himself. His most notable feature is his knowledge of his God IAHWEH as a MESSENGER, talking within himself, and as an indwelling Guide, Consoler, and Inspirer. Half a century was to elapse ere Socrates and Plato arose with their idea of the Indwelling Daimon. The profoundest religious conception of the nobler Greeks emerged long after these simple Jews knew it and taught it. It is fascinating to think that there may have been some connexion here, as also between Isa. liii. and the "Prometheus Vincit" of Æschylus. Hebrew soldiers in the Persian army fighting in Greece may have provided the link. The prophet believes that all nations that have oppressed Israel will be broken, that the God IAHWEH will return to Jerusalem and be her defence, and that the nation's government will be in the hands of a Chief Priest endowed with entire purity by the grace of God. A second series of visions sets forth the gracious light of IAHWEH's eyes: their splendour will end all wrong in the final universal reign of IAHWEH.

A gift of gold and silver from the exiles in Babylon is named in one of four short passages which follow, and it is directed that this gift is to be moulded into a diadem for the Persian governor of Judæa, one "Zerub-Babel"—"The Babylonian Fly." This plan for adornment of a foreigner seems very like an effort to keep the mighty Persian Emperor in distant Shushan on good terms. Jerusalem is to become populous, and also holy, i.e. devoted to God, the centre and magnet of all stranger-peoples who seek the Divine Universal Ruler. All will

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believe they find Him in IAHWEH. So these two writers, HAGGAI and FIRST-ZECHARIAH, manifest themselves as quite different from the exiles still living in Persia and Babylon, who, while still keeping an interest in the home of their ancestors, do not dream of leaving their distant new abode. The mental outlook in Judæa is materialistic, both in the longing for world-power and in the contemplation of divine rewards and punishments. There is nevertheless a noble love of purity and a real conception of world-brotherhood to be realized through the world-dominion of IAHWEH; there are also real ideas of righteousness, of fellowship, and of Divine revelation. Spiritual religion—both in the nation and the individual—is becoming manifest.

(iii) The title of another little book, "MALACHI," is not a proper name, though its ch. iii. 1 shows very clearly how the idea arose that it was such a name. It is really the Hebrew word for "My Messenger." The Book of Malachi is anonymous: it is "the Book concerning 'My Messenger.'" In that third chapter its author cries in the Name of God, "See I am sending My Messenger." "He is going to prepare the path before Me."

This MALACHI or "MESSENGER" Book contains some seven oracles. The tribes of Edom to the south-east of the Dead Sea have been harrying Judah; they are bitterly cursed by the writer. It is probable that the little one-chapter tract called OBADIAH refers to this same incident. Then again in MALACHI the service of the Jerusalem temple is criticized: the priests are offering defiled sacrifices and are practising mercenary service.

Early People and Prophets

We read that there are some far-distant shrines of IAHWEH. Probably this is a reference to that Jewish colony in south Egypt which excavations have revealed as existing at Assouan about this very time. MALACHI praises the care and reverence manifested there, and pleads that surely when far away there is such devout life, then there should not be carelessness in IAHWEH's own central sanctuary at Jerusalem. There is also a rebuke of the slackness of the marriage tie, by which men are not only wedding Gentile women, but are repudiating their former Jewish wives. The rite of circumcision is upheld as the secret but infallible link and mark of the Jew; this is something of a tribal recrudescence. Five centuries were to pass away after MALACHI before PAUL laid his finger on the mischief of trust in circumcision as a spiritual safeguard. Then there comes our prophet's wonderful picture of the arrival, not of Messengers only, but of God Himself to "sit like a refiner and purifier of silver." It is a figure which repays earnest thought and is like a nugget of pure gold for the careful preacher. But from this height MALACHI drops into the materialistic vein again. If the people are to get harvests, they must give offerings. He climbs back to a great peak indeed when, amid the despair which asks "Of what purpose is it to serve God?" he describes and forecasts the meeting together of spiritually minded people in the Synagogues that were common. There they talk together of their love for IAHWEH and of the things of the religious life. IAHWEH keeps a register of these devoted people: they are Divinely marked men and women. Here again let

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the modern preacher realize the wonderful suggestion. But now—alas, alas!—MALACHI believes that the sun of righteousness which is to arise with healing in its wings—meaning doubtless the time when all the people shall be righteous—is to scorch up the mockers, and the saints are to dance on the burned bones of the unholy! Idealism and fanaticism, puritanism and the spirit of persecution seem to go hand in hand: so they do often. We move on to finer things.

CHAPTER II

THE ADOLESCENCE OF JUDAISM

WELL may we say that we can see this in the Book of Third-ISAIAH, i.e. chapters lvi.—lxvi. of the ISAIAH collection. It might be called a biograph of those years 500 to 450 B.C. It is not as a whole so strikingly profound as AMOS or First-ISAIAH, cc. i.—xxxviii. ("ISAIAH in Jerusalem"), yet its conceptions are often very beautiful, and many a passage is nobly sublime. JESUS knew the book: He loved to read it, to quote it. He preached of His own mission with a passage from this Book as His text.

An admirable description, analysis, and commentary concerning the Book have been published by Rev. Mr. Box. The substance runs thus: The author lived in Jerusalem, and the Temple had been rebuilt. He looked for additions to the Jewish community that would come from Babylon, and who would not at all be Hebrews or Jews already, but would join the little people in Judæa as strangers. This shows how the boundary lines in the Jewish conception were being extended, as the SLAVE-SINGER in Isa. xlii. and xlix. had foretold. Non-Jewish souls were being welcomed into the sacred fold. Strangely in contradiction of Deuteronomy xxiii., even eunuchs were welcomed into the fellowship of IAHWEH.

Through all, however, runs the test of obedience to the Torah—the doctrine-book which we have in Deuteronomy. Sensuality and foreign religions are condemned; but there is a gracious gospel

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uttered at the outset of the book. Ch. lvii runs thus :

- “ I, the holy and devoted One, sit on high :
also with the crushed and lowly do I dwell :
- “ To revive the spirit of the lowly, and the heart
of the crushed :
- “ I will heal and give rest—yes, for the mourner
who is uttering prayer and creating new
fruit of the lips.
- “ Peace, peace will I give to the far-off and the
near.”

It is a lofty spirit which says in ch. lviii, “ true fasting consists in releasing hard-pressed debtors,” words which surely suggested some thoughts to JESUS. The picture of IAHWEH with righteousness as His armour and having on His head the helmet of salvation (ch. lix. 17) is another wonderful figure used long after by ECCLESIASTICUS and by PAUL. The writer bursts into joy over the salvation he expects in an immortal passage (ch. lx) :

- “ Arise, shine, for thy light is come : IAHWEH’s
glory has risen upon thee !
- “ Upon thee doth He rise : nations shall come
to thy light,
- “ Yea, kings shall come to the beauty of thine
arising !
- “ Thy sons shall come from far : thy daughters
are borne on thy side :
- “ Then shalt thou see and be radiant : thy heart
shall tremble and throb.
- “ Who are these that fly like a cloud, like doves
to thy windows ?

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"Thy gates shall stand open day and night :
they shall never be closed :

"No more shall the sun be thy light nor the
moon illumine thee !

"IAHWEH shall be thine everlasting light : thy
God thy beauty."

A comparison of this with a familiar passage in the New Testament Book of Revelation shows the indebtedness of the author of that book to this Jewish writer.

The little book has been a *vade-mecum* for quotations always ; but the greatest of all the users of it was JESUS Himself, when He announced His Divine task in the synagogue. He quoted as His text, says Luke iv. 16 ff., the wonderful words of Isa. lxi., where the young Jew had chanted his noble faith concerning his task. We can scarcely realize that it was such a man, nearly five hundred years before JESUS lived, who said of himself :

"I know it is the IAHWEH-SPIRIT that is resting
upon me :

"For see it is He that anoints me, and so appoints
me

"To bring glad tidings to the gentle : this is
His errand for me :

"To bind up broken-hearted ones, to set free
captives, to release the bound."

But we discover here at once the vastly higher claim of JESUS, for alas ! that earlier writer added "that he was to proclaim the day of IAHWEH's vengeance"—a portion of the oracle which JESUS

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omitted. The poem is noble ; even although the "day of vengeance" pictures IAHWEH as meaning to destroy the oppressors of Judah. It is sad that from these lower elements so much of our sanctioning of blood-thirst in the name of religion has taken its rise. But soon from our prophet's heart the spirit of wrath dies away. The great past is recollected, all alight with Divine deliverances, and our singing prophet writes (ch. lxiii. 9, 16) :

"It was not a Messenger that helped the people :
it was His own Presence that delivered them :

"In His love and His tenderness He Himself
redeemed them :

"He lifted them and carried them all the days
of old.

"ABRAHAM may not acknowledge us, nor yet
Israel ;

"But thou, O IAHWEH, art our Father : 'Our
Redeemer' is Thy name."

NEHEMIAH's priestly story, which we are presently to study, had not yet apparently impressed on them the idea of their Abrahamic ancestry, but surely here is plain evidence that JESUS took from this piece of literature his conception of the Fatherhood of GOD, however marvellously he may have developed and adorned it. Here, also, in ch. lxiv. 4, PAUL learned his fine quotation (1 Cor. ii. 9) :

"Ear hath not heard nor eye seen what Thou
wilt do,

"For those who wait for thee."

In ch. lxvi. the effort of the Samaritans to set

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up Shechem and Nablus as rivals to Jerusalem is condemned, although the Samaritans had only followed EZEKIEL's plan when they carried out their project.

So we are able to conclude that the popular mind was gradually rising to a very high level. Such was adolescent JUDAISM. It has been in virtue of its strong literary excellence that this Third-ISAIAH has become such a fountain of utterances used by us to this day. The whole book seems so logically arranged and so naturally written that we feel it came from a most careful and methodical thinker. He writes of the hope, characteristic of young JUDAISM, that Zion shall become a central sanctuary for all men ; he bewails the wrong deeds that mar the fair structure of their life ; he enjoins that all may fast truly by cherishing a right spirit ; and—with all the falling as well as rising of his idealism—he represents a wonderful level of piety and hope. The Deuteronomic liturgy and outlook have become the doctrine of JUDAISM, though some of the old Totem worships still survive. A new Temple has been erected and great hopes are cherished, that thither many foreign peoples will repair as to a place of prayer. The return of the children of the slaves in Babylon—who have sent gifts to help in the building of the Temple—is still a thing the writer hopes for, not a past event recorded. Must we not say that the faith and vision of those men were drawing ever nearer to that JESUS Who, Son of these old saints, was born in later days ? JUDAISM's early story bids us expect a great sequel of life, activity, beauty in the generations that were dawning.

SECTION III

THE CHARTER OF JUDAISM

Our next proposition is that about 450 B.C.,¹ a newly appointed Governor of the Persian Province of Judæa, a man descended from the Hebrew families that had been carried captive to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar in 599-589 B.C., i.e. a hundred and fifty years previously, on going to his Province brought with him to Jerusalem from Shushan, the imperial residence where he had been royal cupbearer, a document which purported to describe the origins and nature of the Abrahamic people, and claimed to give true directions for the Worship of IAHWEH. We have now therefore to describe the following matters :

In Chapters :

- I. The Coming of the Document to Jerusalem.
- II. The Rediscovery of the Document in Recent Times.
- III. The Foreign Religious Influences which surrounded its Authors.
- IV. The Contents of the Document.
- V. Its Sanctuary for Communion between IAHWEH and Israel.
- VI. The Religion of the Document and its People, the JEWS.

¹ This is only a round number, convenient for the memory : more exact is the date *circa* 445 B.C.

CHAPTER I

HOW THE DOCUMENT CAME TO JERUSALEM

THE little Book now commonly called "The Priestly Document in the Pentateuch" ("P"), contains and expresses the soul of all the remarkable development whose climax was JESUS. And yet its central part has been left almost unread, and has even been pushed aside with something of suspicion by Christian people as being a picture of a pure sacerdotalism unworthy of regard by earnest persons. But the neglect of it and the misreading of it are not due altogether to Christian treatment of it. It is a strange and double paradox that within two hundred years after NEHEMIAH brought it to Jerusalem the influence of its kernel principle had become so great as to cause much enlargement of the document itself; and at the same time to conceal almost entirely its actual author, while there was conjured up another fancied author, a quite unreal person indeed, and yet one who became regarded as the proper writer and as verily a Second MOSES. Let us see the facts.

The story is told in a sort of doublet of books, called "EZRA" and "NEHEMIAH"; and of these EZRA is simply the final chapters of CHRONICLES; the latter book, "NEHEMIAH," seems pretty certainly to consist of the autobiography of that remarkable and truly great soul NEHEMIAH. He was a descendant of the enslaved Hebrews who were carried off from Judæa to Babylon about 600 B.C.; he

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would be probably a great-great-grandson of some of those slaves, perhaps in the fifth generation, when he prepared his book, and took it to Jerusalem. His family, although slaves, had risen to high esteem and rank; he himself held the highest office in the Persian Empire as Cupbearer to the Emperor. We may say he was Grand Vizier, or Prime Minister, next in dignity to the Monarch himself. Here, by the way, is a confirmation of the present-day view, learned from HAGGAI and his comrades, that there was never any real "Return from the Exile," such as is commonly fancied. That fancy dates indeed from early days.

NEHEMIAH became troubled by reports of great unhappiness among the people of the Remnant who had been left in Judæa. His anxiety was noticed by the Emperor; and, esteeming his servant highly, the Monarch sought to cheer and to honour NEHEMIAH by appointing him Provincial Governor of Judæa. Not once but twice at least this Governor travelled the long thousand miles across the deserts to fulfil his office.

He tells us (Neh. viii.) that on one of his visits he carried with him a "Book of Doctrine concerning Abrahamic Registration and Mosaic Worship." This he caused to be read to the people assembled in a square or gateway of the city. It appears to have been hitherto entirely unknown; but they welcomed it, and pledged themselves to carry out its directions. It ordained especially the establishment of an Aaronitic hierarchy, which was at once put into operation and was subsequently much developed, as the Books of Chronicles report.

In the Memoirs or Autobiography of the Governor

How the Document Came to Jerusalem

NEHEMIAH (ch. viii), there are a few, very few indeed, references apparently made to another person called "EZRA." In a confused way this person is identified with the priesthood and the recording scribal office attached to NEHEMIAH's Governorship. From this fact has grown up the notable tradition that there was a person, a scribe, a helper, a sort of Second MOSES, who introduced NEHEMIAH's Book, and authorized the adoption of this Book of Doctrine. Some such authorization was certainly needed, for the Book is utterly different from any regulations hitherto regarded as Mosaic. But the word "EZRA" cannot possibly be a person's name: it is the Aramaic for "The Help," the final letter being the ordinary definite article in that Aramaic or Syriac language which the poor Remnant folk had learned from their northern neighbours of Syria or Aram. Most probably the Governor NEHEMIAH himself, helped, as he would be, by priestly and scribal men who accompanied him, was meant by the writer when the word "EZRA" was used.

The other little book, standing beside that called "NEHEMIAH," and describing some of the events, is called in our Old Testament "The Book of EZRA." But it is really only the concluding chapters of the Books of CHRONICLES, torn off from their original place, as is easy to be seen by comparison of the closing chapter of CHRONICLES with the opening of "EZRA." CHRONICLES was regarded as a heretical document, seeing that it put slight upon "P." It stands at the very end of the Old Testament collection. But the editors of this desired to append to their books of Kings some little

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account of the so-called "Return from the Exile"; therefore they detached the "EZRA" chapters from their original place and accepted them as "canonical," while CHRONICLES was rejected until in quite late times. It was let in, so to speak, "by the skin of the teeth" by an act of literary compassion, and was set as the very last book in the Old Testament canon. We need not pay much attention to the sometimes very curious statements of EZRA and of CHRONICLES: they are unreliable, as may be seen by comparing them with KINGS and SAMUEL. We shall examine the value of CHRONICLES and EZRA later on.

NEHEMIAH's Document "P" was soon greatly honoured. It was accepted as the Charter of the People's Religion, and it became the First Bible, the Foundation Element in the various editions that succeeded, as we shall see. There existed already the two old Narrative Books, probably already combined into one. These made the very First Bible. The pair were: first the popular Epic Story of the Hebrews written soon after King DAVID's day, which we call "The IAHWIST," or "J," because it tells of the IAHWEH God's care of the nation from the beginning, as we see in Gen. ch. ii. ff.; and this old Epic "J" was greatly prized. The other Narrative was also well known: the Book which we call "The ELOHIST," or "E," calling it so because it teaches the theory that the name and character IAHWEH were never known until MOSES discovered them. DEUTERONOMY, commonly called "D," is really a postscript to "E." It is an effort to substitute by its chapters and its theory of one IAHWEH and one place of

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worship, the original legal part of "E," which was then transferred from its original position following Numbers and was now put for safe keeping as Exod. cc. xxi.-xxiii. These two earlier narratives, "J" and "E," were evidently counted too precious to be lost, and therefore they were interwoven very soon into "P," just after the usual fashion of interweaving which Oriental writers practise. So after "J" and "E" had been combined, and after the First Bible "P," a Second Bible came made up of "P," "J," and "E." But several other Bibles succeeded before the New Testament was formed and our present Book was established.

CHAPTER II

HOW THIS PRIESTLY OR NEHEMIAN DOCUMENT WAS DISCOVERED IN RECENT TIMES

THE interesting facts just narrated have been brought to light chiefly within the last one hundred and fifty years, although the greatest Jewish scholars of Christian times have known much about them and have wondered more. The present writer has described this Jewish study of the old literature in his *History of O.T. Criticism*,¹ therefore it is unnecessary to discuss it here; but most honourable mention must always be made of the noble Rabbi ABEN-EZRA of about A.D. 1100. He put his finger upon the secret of the matter, and pointed out the way to solution of the problem, doing this cautiously because of the strong prejudices of Jewish fellow-laymen. Five hundred years later Spinoza, another learned Jew, laid down critical rules for the task of solution of the problems.

It was in the year 1755 that the deeply devout Dr. Astruc, the royal physician at the court of Louis XV in Paris, published a series of studies in the Old Testament, which he had long accomplished but had kept quietly beside him through unwillingness to disturb the ordinary opinions and reverence of society towards the Bible. He had made an analysis of GENESIS: he had found that there are clear evidences in the Book that its composer employed at least two different documents, one

¹ Published by Watts, 1910.

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which begins in ch. i. and always calls GOD ELOHIM, while the other begins in ch. ii. and calls GOD IAHWEH. Then these two documents, said Dr. Astruc, must have been interwoven throughout the whole fifty chapters of Genesis. Following out this clue, he analysed the whole, and published his table of the various results. The wonder is that his results were almost exactly the same as what we follow to-day, under the guidance of Wellhausen and others. But at a certain point, namely, at ch. xv. or xx., Astruc fell into error. This leads us to see the next notable discovery.

In 1799 a grammar-school head master in Saxony, Dr. Ilgen, found that there were really three main original documents used by the composer: there are, namely, two which always use the Divine title "ELOHIM," and one which always says "IAHWEH." That is the position we have reached to-day. But, strange to say, Ilgen's discovery was neglected, or forgotten, for half a century till Hupfeld of Halle rediscovered it in 1853. Since then those three original Documents, the Iahwistic "J," the older Elohist "E," and the younger Elohist "P," have been steadily more and more fully recognized, separated, and evaluated.

In 1876 that Nestor of analytical students, Wellhausen, published his famous Essays on *The Composition of the Hexateuch*. No farther analysis has since then been needed, for his work was unanswerable. Later on Bacon of Yale College, Addis of Oxford, and the present writer have printed the three documents separately restored; so now all these can easily be used as illustrations and guides in the task of reconstructing the story of the

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successive development of the religious mind and life of Hebrews and of Jews. We do not see in them the actual history of the peoples, although they all three profess to record it; for the three narratives tell utterly different stories of the same things, events, and persons. But we see in each document the mind of its author, and of the generation living around him; therefore we can know exactly what were the religious ways and ideas at their three different times; and these times were:

- (a) Those of the Iahwistic generation living *circa* 900 B.C. when "J" was written, i.e. about the time of DAVID and SOLOMON;
- (b) Those of the Elohistic generation *circa* 700 B.C. when AMOS and his comrades were creating a great moral reformation;
- (c) Those of NEHEMIAH and his fellows, about 450 B.C.

These dates have been carefully searched out and tested, so that we can depend on them in our constructive study of the course of religion from age to age. It is a joy to note, as we pass on, that we owe to Bishop Colenso some of the most important contributions to the solution of the problems of these dates. He was excommunicated in 1864 for teaching us his results; but to-day he is one of our most honoured guides in Biblical study.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON THIS CHARTER

IN order to realize as fully as possible the spirit of this "P" document, and that of those who wrote it and those who accepted it, we must recall very briefly matters considered already in other connexions: we must think of the religious circumstances amid which it was composed. NEHEMIAH brought it from Shushan, the capital of Persia. His fellow-descendants of the Hebrew exiles had been resident in Babylon and thereabouts for a century and a half when "P" was produced. Cast back the thoughts therefore to the peoples whose ways must have greatly influenced those descendants of the exiles. These were the peoples of Babylon, of Persia, of Greece, and of Egypt. What were these peoples religiously or philosophically?

The Religion of Babylon.—We may set it first that the Babylonians, kings and people, were greatly given to architectural and other artistic elaboration of their worship arrangements. Especially do we know well that the last of the independent monarchs of Babylon, Nabonidus, who ruled over the exiles in the middle of the century 600 to 500 B.C., and who lost his crown by his being conquered by Cyrus I, was a perfect enthusiast for architectural embellishment of sanctuaries. Indeed, he lost his throne largely through his neglect of the State while he was too busy over temple buildings. Thus the exiled Hebrews and their succeeding

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generations could not help being educated in love for beauty in architecture. Moreover, to begin to look at the treasures we have recovered from the ruins of Babylonian cities, and to examine these in the richly-stored halls of our British Museum, is to learn that all those Hebrew slave-children must have grown interested in artistic things, drawings, sculpture, and these of splendid sorts. No wonder then that in the new Jewish system of worship, commended to Jerusalem by men from Babylon and Shushan, a precious Tray for receiving sacrificial blood-drops had as handles at either end two figures commonly called "cherubs," but more correctly to be called "griffins." We read of these in the Book of EZEKIEL (xxviii. 14) who was one of those slaves in Babylon. He knew them well. Many similar plastic works were used to adorn the sanctuaries of all the East. NEHEMIAH copied these and was glad to do so. The old "E" rule in the Decalogue against images did not prevent him.

Of still more interest to us to-day are the literary appropriations which were taken from Babylonian libraries and used in the composition of "P." The author perhaps knew that the old "J" Epic had opened, in Gen. ii. 4*b*, with a story of "The Becoming of Men and Things"; so the "P" writer opens his document with a poem of "Beginnings" (Gen. i.) which is an adaptation of the Babylonian Epic of Beginnings, or as we may call it "The Babylonian Spring-Song" with its tale of TIAMAT, the Hebrew Tehom (תְּהוֹם), the Storm God who was conquered by the entry of Light. So the chapter chants on with a kind of scholastic

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theory of evolution. Later on our document appropriates and adapts in Gen. cc. vi. ff. another great poem of the Babylonians, that sings how TIAMAT made another terrible attempt to drown all the world. This is what we call the "Flood Story," or, rather, it is one of the two Flood Stories. "J" gives one, "P" gives another.

The "P" document does not itself use the Legal and Moral Code of Hamurabi, who was king of Babylon in about 2000 B.C. ; but very soon after the first acceptance of "P" in Jerusalem a code of ethical rules was added. It is contained in Leviticus (xvii. to xxvi.), commonly known as "H," i.e. the "Holiness Code," so-called because many of its rules are enforced with the closing note, "Be ye holy and devoted, because I IAHWEH am holy and devoted." It is clear therefore that Babylon's influence on the religion of "P," on its author, and on those who accepted it was great. How thoroughly does this fact show on the one hand the great share that outside peoples had in the making of our Bible and indeed in making our Christianity ; and it shows also, on the other hand, what rich stores of inspiration those other people possessed, quite as much as did the Hebrews and the Jews.

The Religion of Persia.—The influence of Persia appears in a somewhat different way. We cannot here enter into detailed consideration of the nature or the history of that Persian religion which is known as Zoroastrianism. But we may listen to the statements made by masters in such study. Professor Haug's great work on it is a chief guide ; it is especially valuable for the basis

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it provides for the summary account given by Professor Bousset in his *Studies in Early Christianity*. Bousset tells us of these following close resemblances between Zoroastrianism and Judaism: (1) Both tend towards Monotheism, although, of course, in Persia this had the appearance of a Dualism. (2) Both are strongly ethical in their nature. (3) Both love Ritual. (4) Both manifest a strong interest in helping the poor. (5) Both nourish literary and theological activity. (6) And, finally, both tend towards the establishment of some Canon of Sacred Writings.

Among these common features we can easily recognize the following as characterizing the "P" document: there is, first, its strong Ethical tendency, manifest especially in the high moral character it loves to impute to the Patriarchs. For example, Abraham's treatment of Hagar in the "J" story is really brutal in our eyes; in "E" the Patriarch is kindly to the poor slave wife, even when he feels compelled to send her away from his home; but "P" never sends Ishmael away at all, for the lad grows up as his father Abraham's honoured son abiding in the home. We could multiply such illustrations of "P's" high moral quality. Again, it might go without further word that "P" is fond of Ritual: its picture of a trysting between IAHWEH and His people shows that. Next, NEHEMIAH's care to bring such a document all the way from Persia to Jerusalem is a sign how the Persian love for literature and for documents had become a prominent feature in the character of the descendants of the Hebrews in the far-off land. Moreover, the people in Judah, those infant

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Jews, took to this document at once : the care for literature had spread to them. Further, we shall speedily see how we are nearing the time when the idea of a Canon, or authoritative record of Doctrine, was to come into favour. The care of the poor does not appear strongly in "P," but it does come to the forefront in the added appendixes which we shall find in Leviticus, in what is known as the Holiness Code, or "H." Finally Monotheism had not become regnant as yet in the theology of the people ; but clearly the mono-Iahwism taught so earnestly by the Deuteronomic school was, we may say, the foundation of all the "P" system. For "P" demands that there shall be only the one sanctuary, thus following the "D" school's doctrine given in Deut. ch. xii, and also training the people towards Monotheism.

The Religion of Greece. It would be of great interest to find marks of Greek influence in "P." Indeed, the "Creation Song" in Gen. ch. i. starts the query whether its writer had felt something of the influence of Thales and his comrade philosophers, who taught that all things are emanations from fluids. Possibly this was the origin of Gen. i. and its emanation doctrine. For Persia and the Greeks had very much to do with each other in the generations just preceding 450 B.C., the time of Nehemiah's mission : Xerxes had travelled from the far east, and brought many Persians with him almost to the doors of Greece ; and perhaps an Æschylus, or a Thales—who knows ?—followed these back from the west. The philosophy of evolutionary creation which Gen. ch. i. expounds was common to both east and west,

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and was probably not originally Greek but rather learned by Greece from Persia. It is clear, however, from Gen. ch. x. 4, where "P" speaks of Iawan, i.e. Ionia, and of other western peoples, that the writer of these passages knew the west quite well. The earliest mention of Iawan, or Ionia, occurs in Ezekiel (see ch. xxvii. 13): it occurs there very naturally in a discussion of the maritime affairs of Phœnicia. This utterance of Ezekiel was written in Babylon a hundred years before Nehemiah; so by the time of the preparation of "P" the Persians, and the Jews arming them, might know Greece very well. Such then were some of the circumstances amid which "P," this Foundation of our Bible, was produced in Persia.

The Religion of Egypt. The relationship between Egyptian religion, as purified and exalted by the King Akhn-Aton, and the religion and life of Israel has been considered above in examining how Moses in 1200 B.C. learned his high ideals from the saintly king on the Nile. The influence of that relationship grew into the great moral reform in the time of AMOS and ISAIAH, *circa* 700 B.C. So Egypt has been, we may say, a most vital factor from abroad upon Hebrew and Jew all along their history.

"P" adopts for the whole Jewish race the Egyptian rite of circumcision, perhaps through eagerness to separate the people from Babylonians or other outside races. He would lean to Egypt and its rites because of Akhn-Aton's great service.

But there came a time after the Hebrew downfall of *circa* 600 B.C. when a group of children of Israel lived in a happy colony near Assouan, away

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up the Nile, with a temple there, and with full permission by Persia to abide by their own laws and their IAHWEH religion. That temple and colony date from about 500 B.C., and this Egyptian contact with Jews helped, no doubt, to encourage the Persian kings to send Nehemiah on his mission. So "P" owed help to Egypt.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTENTS OF THE DOCUMENT

WHAT now were the contents of this Charter-Document? In brief we may sketch first the general contents, following roughly the divisions made in the so-called Pentateuch by the later editors, viz. the five Books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

Genesis has very little of "P," but it tells of three matters of interest, namely, the Creation, the Flood, and the Rule for Registration of True Israelites.

Exodus gives two most important Declarations: first, that in ch. vi. the Name IAHWEH is revealed through Moses to the Israelites as the expression of the true character of their God. Then comes in cc. xxv. ff. the Revelation given on Mount Sinai, which declares what true Worship shall be.

Leviticus is entirely taken up by Appendixes added to "P," giving first a series of Rules for Sacrifices, and then also a Moral Code concerning blood-kin, health, and festival dates.

Numbers gives Registrations of Tribes, their populations, their property, and the due devout gifts. Intermixed with these are some inserted stories taken from "J" and "E."

In Deuteronomy there are almost no extracts from "P." A few morsels stand in the later books of Samuel and Kings.

We examine now the following details which are of prime importance.

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The SPRING-SONG of the world in ch. i. This is not an account of Creation: the Hebrew term used (נָתַן) means not "Creating" but "Shaping." The chapter is, we may say, a simple philosophical dissertation on an evolution of heaven, earth, and creatures; nearly all these last arising out of the wide expanses of water which lay there, all already existing; and this is a good deal tinged with the earlier Greek cosmological ideas. But it is also very clearly a reproduction of the Babylonian Spring-Song, which pictured a great glacier-flood coming evidently from the Armenian mountains, with the Water-Goddess Tehom or Tiamat striving against the Sun-God. The final development at the end of a seven-period process is Mankind; and this is not one person, a male, an Adam, as is often fancied: it is a Pair, Male and Female; these are the climax of the wonderful process, and they are unitedly to subdue all other things and creatures, and to rule them. That is "P's" ideal for human life.

There is no account given by "P" of the emergence of a moral nature or of "sin." But after a series of genealogies, all described in a regular stanzaic way, there comes a record that debasement did set in through sexual intimacies with secondary deities. To cleanse this away there came another period of inundation, a repetition of the glacial floods, just such as there had been at the first. All mankind were destroyed except one Semitic progenitor for a future race. This man is called "No'ch," which means "Rest." The inundation had cleansed all things and had given the world Rest. At this point the Gods

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place the Rainbow, "God's Bow" in the sky, to mark a Divine Promise of Care. Now also and henceforth flesh might be used as food, whereas hitherto only vegetable-food was to be used. Such was "P's" theory.

Long genealogies follow, until there is born away in Babylonia the "Exalted Father" (the Abh-Ram: אֲבִרָם) for the Hebrew race. It is most notable that the Babylonian Nehemiah places this man in his own old home, the Babylonian Slave-home, the origin of the people. Concerning him the one thing important in "P's" view was that not until he was ninety years of age did he receive his one and only communication from one of the Elohim, a Deity who says His Name or Character is EL-SHADDAI, i.e. the God of the Thunder-storm. He gives to the patriarch, as the substance of this single revelation that he ever receives from heaven, the direction to mark all men of his race by the hidden sign of circumcision. It was really an Egyptian rite, and "P" probably used it to mark his people as not so nearly related to the Babylonians who had enslaved them, as to the great King Akhn-Aton, who taught Moses his high faith. EL-SHADDAI declares that the race thus marked off will be "perfect," i.e. firmly established men.

Of his own initiative now, and without any command to go, Abh-Ram sets out on nomad wandering, ultimately reaching Palestine. Here he has two sons, one through marriage connexion with Arabians, who is called "Ishmael" and is regarded as chief in the family next to his father. Ishmael, according to "P's" record, was never

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sent out from the father's home. The second child is son of a Syrian or Aramæan princess, and he becomes later on the head of the Hebrew race, when Ishmael migrates to his ancestral Arabian home as a hunter.

One further note is given of the ways of Abh-Ram; the "J" and "E" stories had described his taking possession of a landed property by violence; but "P" says something far different: this land was *bought* from the original inhabitants by regular purchase. This tells how "P" stood on a much higher level of morality than those earlier two writers did.

In all these records "P" lets Abh-Ram have no knowledge of the IAHWEH name or the IAHWEH character of any God. It should be noted that the whole "P" story can be seen and read in a continuous form, apart from "J" and "E" in Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis*.

We look now at Exodus, and here we find at once two great Revelations: (i) One of the IAHWEH-Name, and (ii) The way of Communion with God. Strangely enough, only the former of these has been described at all clearly by students.

The revelation of the Divine Name and Character fills most of ch. vi. 2 ff. The story is that Moses hears God speaking and saying, "I am IAHWEH. I was not known as IAHWEH by Abh-Ram or any others of the race hitherto. They called Me only EL-SHADDAI. But now I give you this new Name: it declares My character. I am HE WHO WILL CAUSE! I will cause you to have all blessings of freedom and home: thus will I fulfil and make good this new Name." As grammarians know,

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this Name is the incipient of the causative form of the verb הָיָה ("He has been"); and it means "He will cause to be; He will create; He will ever cause more and more life and experience." Such was the essence of the Hebrew and Jewish faith and religion as crystallized in that Divine Name and Character. It might go almost without saying that the author of this theory of the Name IAHWEH cannot have had anything to do with the "J" writer of Genesis, who speaks of IAHWEH as well known from the first and constantly.

Before passing on to the second great Revelation in cc. xxv. ff., it is well to observe that "P" describes his six—not ten—Egyptian plagues or terrors as "wonders," or miracles. Furthermore, he says that the ancient festival of "PESACH" (Limping), held at the time of the beginning of harvests and of the coming of the lambs in the Spring month called Abib, is to be counted the Beginning of the Year. Abib is to be the New Year Month, and this is said to be because it was believed that in Abib the emancipation of the race from Egyptian slavery took place. But here two notable facts are to be considered: one, that this Abib month was the First Month of the Year among the Babylonians, and Nehemiah naturally preferred it. So we discover one more influence of Babylonian life upon Judaism. The second remarkable fact is that the Jews have not observed this calendar order of "P": they have not held and kept Abib as their First Month; but all along their history to this day they make their year begin in September, as it had done in the early ages. Then comes the Jewish New Year's Day, the

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(רֹשֶׁהַשָּׁנָה שְׁאֵלָה) Rosh-Hashshanah as they say. Here is a singular sign that they have not held the Great Bible Book "P" to be a Heaven-given and inexorable Law.

We read on, and find the Great System of Worship described and ordained in cc. xxv-xxix.

(a) At once we may be surprised to see that "P" has no Decalogue. Moses is summoned up to the Sinai mountain-top and "P" follows here the geography of "J," who says "the book was given on Sinai." "E" is quite different, and says it was given on "HOREB," i.e. a Burning Mountain. Here, as generally, "E" likes to tell of supernatural events. In another respect "P" follows "J"; he says that the revelation upon the mountain concerned methods of Worship, so had "J" taught; but "E" had made it a series of Moral Commands. And this was in "E" most natural, since he was the companion of the great Moral Prophets, Amos and his fellows. The Priestly Document, then, has no Decalogue, no Ten Commandments; instead, it gives the System for Worship.

(b) The first direction concerning Worship is, "Let the people bring gifts of all rich and suitable sorts for materials. Then the command follows at once:

"Let them make for Me a Place of Devotion :
a Sanctuary :

"And I shall abide in your midst."

Here is immediately the spirituality of "P," its author, and its users. They hunger for the Presence of God to abide in their midst. Let us leave

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altogether behind us the old hurtful way of thinking that this idea or its doctrine was something that dropped down from heaven without any thought of its nature and its need among the people. We are learning to-day that the utterances we find among Hebrew and Jewish saints, prophets, singers were all of them conceptions and ideals of individual persons thought out by one person in each case, out of the person's mind filled with love and devotion. Isaiah, Moses, every one of these had a soul Divinely made with majestic ability to think out for himself what he would teach to his fellows. Therein consisted the marvellous Divine Power and Presence in each soul; God did not speak words to them which they must remember and must write down for their fellows and for us: He created in them thinking souls, full of wisdom, full of ability to think what it might be that God desired, and full of faith that He would guide their minds in this thoughtfulness. Such was, and is, the process of Inspiration. It was perfectly natural—natural in the highest Divine way—and thus it was a really supernatural process. That was the way in which the Spirit of God wrought in them. "They enquired and searched diligently, searching what the Christian Spirit which was in them did signify."

Now, with the provided material, and with the Great Command "Let them make Me a Sanctuary," "P" proceeds to say what the Sanctuary was to be. What was the Place of Devotion, the Place of Worship? What plan for Worship did Nehemiah and his followers propose to follow? What did the Divine Inspiration lead them to do? We reserve this for a fresh chapter, so utterly important is it.

CHAPTER V

THE SANCTUARY AND THE WORSHIP

WE must devote full discussion to this matter, for two reasons. One is that cc. xxv.-xxix. are commonly set aside and virtually ignored, as if they were of very slight importance. Even some modern scholars who have sought to write out in full each of the three original documents, "J," "E," and "P" have said, when they came to this series of chapters, "They are of little moment, and we need not translate or describe them." The real fact is that here at the very outset of this Worship-Plan stands, one may say, the profoundest and noblest of all the utterances of Jewish or Hebrew literature. Therefore let us examine it.

The other reason for special consideration is that traditionally and persistently it has been taught that the Sanctuary was a Tabernacle, a Tent, a Building containing a few valuable items of furniture inside, with the old primitive "Place of Slaughter"—"Altar" as we call it—outside, where the victims for communal festivals would be killed and the offal from them burned. But all this fancy that a Tent, or Tabernacle, was the Sanctuary is a traditional mistake; hoary, it is true, but entirely incorrect, as the simple reading of the chapters will show. Let us see the whole passage, cc. xxv.-xxix. A rapid outline of these gives us the following as their contents:

(i) As we have seen, there is the Call for Gifts, xxv. 1-7.

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(ii) Verses 8 to 21 ordain the Sanctuary, which is a Casket, a precious Box ; and a special part of this is its cover, which may be called "The Throne of the Communing IAHWEH." This Covering Throne where IAHWEH was to sit was to be made of solid gold, most precious. For lifting it two figures, "Kroobs" (כְּרוּבִים), were to be attached at the ends as handles.

(iii) Verses 21 f. are that sublime passage we have alluded to ; it is the declaration of the nature of the Communion which IAHWEH desires, according to the belief of Nehemiah and his fellow-Jews. As one reads it and reflects over it the soul is bowed down in calm, sacred awe. It is most strange that it has been so little considered. We shall return to look upon it presently.

(iv) The next item of furnishing, described in vv. 23-30, was a Table for food, and it means a faith which we commonly call "anthropomorphism." There must be a table for food for IAHWEH when He comes and is present. The word put for this food in our English translation is "Shewbread," but that is one of the unfortunate steps towards mistaken interpretation of the Sanctuary. The words in Hebrew are "Presence Bread" (לֶחֶם פָּנִים), i.e. Bread for Him when He is present. Implied in this is the beautiful faith that God is of like nature with men : He means to eat with them ; He has needs and wants just like theirs. He is to have food. What beauty of intimacy with Him ! This was the origin of our Lord's Supper.

(v) Close by this food-table there must be lamps (vv. 31-40) to light up the place where He is. For necessarily a windowless tent made of curtain

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was to be arranged to cover in all from the winds and rains; and always, by day and night, this sacred abode must be lighted up. These two—table and lights—complete this ch. xxv.

(vi) Provision of a Tent to shelter all these things is directed in ch. xxvi. But be it noted carefully again that this Tent was not called the Sanctuary: that had been ordained first of all, in ch. xxv. 8-22, before everything else. It was the Casket that was the Sanctuary. We have to return to that presently.

(vii) Ch. xxvii. gives a Rule for a place for the slaughter of sacred victims for the communal sacrificial feastings, such as had been the old traditional ceremonial in the ages past. This feasting had been the long-used way of communion, whereby the people and their God had eaten together the food which would create in them the sacred bodily life. We observe how this place of slaughter seems now to take a secondary position: it is set outside; those old ways are ended.

(viii) In ch. xxviii. are regulations for the appointing and robing of a body of ministers who shall care for the whole; and directions follow in ch. xxix. 1-42 for the ordination of these ministers.

(ix) The whole document and its revelations are now closed by a passage, ch. xxix. 43-46, which contains these several utterances: (a) There is to be a constant sacrificial feast every day; (b) IAHWEH will make Tryst to be present there with Israel; (c) the place shall be enveloped and enfolded in Divine glory.

(x) We must quote the final words, they are so notable. It is clear that they mark the definite

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end of the document. The writer says (vv. 43 ff.), in the name of IAHWEH :

“ I will tryst Myself to come thither with the people to talk to them.

“ I shall abide in the midst of the sons of Israel.

“ I shall be their God.

“ They shall know that it is I IAHWEH Who am their GOD :

“ It was I that brought them out from the land of Egypt,

“ In order to My abiding in their midst.

“ It is I IAHWEH that am their GOD.”

(xi) An appendix which follows in ch. xxx. will come before us later in the next main section, on “ The Fates of the Charter.”

From this general outline we return to that which is evidently the chief matter. In ch. xxv. 8, after saying, in IAHWEH's Name, “ Let them make Me a Sanctuary,” the author says at once, “ Let them make a Casket ” ; this is clearly the Sanctuary, by its position in the verses of the Ordinance and by its remarkable nature and use. What was this nature ?

It was to be a small but precious casket, or box, only three feet long by two in width and height ; and it was to be completely gilded. Its purpose was twofold. It was to be a LIBRARY to contain the “ P ” document, and it was to be the place where IAHWEH would sit. It was to have as its Cover a plate of solid gold. The word commonly used as name for this, “ a mercy-seat,” is thoroughly mistaken. The error has led to mistaken ideas of

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the nature of the Worship which "P" was setting forth; moreover, that mistaken translation led to mistakes even in Paul's writings, and in the long succession of theological theories throughout history. What, then, was this most precious plate to be? It was to be the Throne of God. It was the Place where He would sit and dwell when He came to hold communion with the people. That Place was to be made evident in several ways. When a sacrificial victim was killed, and the flesh was cooked as food for the worshippers, the blood was **IAHWEH's** share, most of it being poured into a cavity provided for it on the ground beside the altar. Then drops of it were to be carried into the Tent and sprinkled on the precious golden Cover or Tray of Reception. These drops marked the Tray as **IAHWEH's** Throne, His special place; just as other drops marked other things as His. The drops were God's "Broad Arrow," so to speak.

But, further, v. 22 says distinctly of this Tray, "There I am going to tryst Myself with you: thither I shall come to you. And there I am going to talk with you from upon that Covering Tray. I am going to talk with you constantly there of all things that I am going to keep telling you, ever new Commands for the sons of Israel." Clearly, then, this Covering Tray was to be **IAHWEH's** Seat and Dwelling-Place. It was the Throne of God, where He would commune with them every day for ever, giving constantly new revelations.

But, we ask, why was a Box, so precious and so richly covered as it was, to be the Throne of God, His Divine Seat? We see that in v. 21, where we read: "Into this Casket thou art to lay this

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Testimony or Document that I am going to give thee." So the Sanctuary was a Library, to contain "P"; and it was to be an ever-growing Library of the Records of the Communings of IAHWEH with men.

Such, then, was the Sanctuary: it was the Library of Revelation, a Library that was always to be enlarged by the ever newer revelations of God. Thither He would come by Tryst, that is, when they agreed with Him that He and they should meet. And the Worship was to be their Communing then, and their talking with Him, hearing and answering their questionings, telling them always His newer plans for their life. Such was the idea of a Sanctuary and of Worship which those earlier Jewish ancestors of Jesus thought out in the wonderful minds that God created in them. Are we over-fanciful in saying that this was a sublime conception? *God communed beside Books.* Do we thus see already the fountain of Christianity, so long before the King Jesus came? IAHWEH was to dwell beside Records, Words, Ideas. Here was a profound conception. It was a philosophy! Socrates was living and teaching the same philosophy in Athens at that very time.

It is right to notice here that some may think we have left unmentioned one of the parts of the furnishing of the Tent. It may be asked, "Was there not also the so-called 'Altar of Incense' in addition to what we have seen?" That will be considered later on. It is described in the Appendix, ch. xxx.; it is one of the further revelations and commands which were added in later days. We saw that the original document ended with ch. xxix.

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We shall study the Altar of Incense, so-called, presently when we consider the further Fates of the Charter. We shall see how development began very speedily, just on the principle of ever-increasing revelations that was laid down and contained in the Charter, in ch. xxv. 22.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHARTER'S RELIGION

WE seek to gather together now the salient points in the religious character of the Jews as manifest in the Charter now before us. It was brought by Nehemiah from the Persian court in Shushan to the weak and faint-hearted folk in Jerusalem about 450 B.C., and it at once inspired them to brave action and to the course of life and development which went steadily forward until, at the climax, He appeared Whom we wish especially to know. The story of that development is the story of the Coming of JESUS. What, then, was the Religion amid which He came? From what, like Paul, we may ask, did "He come according to the flesh"? Nehemiah gave the Plan; they pledged themselves to carry it out; singularly has it swayed the ages ever since.

In order to grasp a thorough knowledge of that Plan we have sought at the outset to see what the Remnant of Hebrew Life was during the previous hundred years since the Exile ruined the beloved old State. Then we have examined the Charter or Plan of Worship word by word. Now we hope to realize what were their ideas of God, and what was their conception of their own character and the inner life of the soul as these can be gathered from the Document.

We spend a moment recalling the ways of the previous century. We remembered the Hebrew forerunners: the long rise from cruel Tribalism to

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the awakening under the Four Great Moral Prophets, and we saw the Elohistie recasting of the pictures given in the Iahwistic Epic, and the new Elohistie views of Abraham and his successors. We saw also how the sub-Elohistes, as we may call the Deuteronomists, believed they could work love and goodness among men by the centralization of religious ceremonial around one only altar, and how there arose the consequent common devotion of all to One IAHWEH, and so to one another. Then came the catastrophe of Babylon's enslavement of nearly all the people; Hebrew religion was ended so far as the old homeland was concerned. Away in Babylon the wonderful Slave-Singer of Isa. xlii. to liii. chanted his faith in IAHWEH's abiding Speech, and Ezekiel devised his elaborate new system of Worship. Then began the Infant-Prophets and Youthful Saints of Judaism, as we have learned. After these came Nehemiah's gift, and we may well think it was no wonder that his Charter in its central utterance in Exod. xxv. could rise to the grandeur we have listened to after the previous course of life and history.

Now we turn to watch the main religious facts of the Charter. There are, we saw, four key passages in the whole document: (i) The grasp of Cosmogony in Gen. i. (ii) The solemn arrangement of Gen. xvii. that the Jews should be shut off altogether from all other peoples, this exclusion to be marked by a secret sign on the body. (iii) The revelation in Exod. vi. to Moses that the Hebrew God's Name and Character were henceforward to be enshrined in the word "IAHWEH," a Name that had never been known hitherto. (iv) Then the

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remarkable description of Worship around the Casket or Ark, with the Document inside it, which we find in Exod. xxv. ff.

Such were the words expressing the "P" faith; we look now at the actual spiritual substance and contents of these utterances. We note these features especially.

They did not try to exhibit a set of doctrines such as might describe and define God, Man, Church, Morality, and the like, which we see treated in present-day systems of theology. We do not expect that, but rather we are interested to know the essential character of the writer and the readers in those formative days.

That character meant a profound impression within their minds, that all around them there were many unseen but all-powerful Beings, who commanded and carried on all things. The people were not Monotheists, although they had learned from Deuteronomy the belief that there was only one IAHWEH. They might be called Mono-Iahwists.

One of these Divine Beings had in early days conveyed to the ancestors an expression of special interest in the Hebrew race; and with long hesitation He had directed that a peculiar Birthmark of Circumcision should be placed secretly on every male person. This indicated that the great Beings had intimate regard for the family life of the race, and that the Gods counted them as related to themselves. And although womankind were not to be similarly marked, yet the Creation-Chant in Gen. i. shows that woman and man were of exactly the same value, ability, dignity, and importance in

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the business of ruling all nature. It is most interesting to notice how the Creator, in making mankind, drew as a pattern for this new creation the outline of His own shadow cast by light upon the ground ; and, when He filled out that pattern, the image of God was seen to be dual, both male and female. This fact has been obscured by our translations, but it stands in the text.

The soul of mankind had this remarkable ability to conceive what was the likeness of God ; but more notable still was the constant inward impulse to search and to learn ever more concerning the Divine Nature. Development and evolution were the ceaseless mental rule.

They were ready and eager to learn from their fellows at home and elsewhere. They learned how the Elohist school of Narrators living two hundred years before " P's " day had conceived and taught that there was the One Deity Who specially cared for and loved these Hebrew folk ; and that this divine nature was best to be expressed by giving to Him the Name " IAHWEH," with its meaning, " He is going to give life, and to fulfil all our needs." The " P " writer knows this, and he adopts the theory. He teaches that it was discovered by MOSES, the great Leader out of slavery in Egypt.

This clear grasp of the people's ability to learn, to think, and to record took a still far higher flight. They conceive thereby the plan for Worship. In brief detail we may say :

They believed that their own loving GOD IAHWEH had a deep longing for Communion with them, and for gift to them of ever more light and knowledge.

To this end that Great Being was just like a

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human lover ! He would make Tryst with His loved ones ; then He would come and talk with them, telling them always more and more of His mind.

But to come at occasional times was not enough for Him. He would abide with them, to teach them and to protect them. Therefore they should prepare a precious place for His dwelling, a Throne of gold, to be marked as His with the marks of His own possession, the red drops of the blood which none but He dare handle lightly.

More notable still, that Throne was to be set upon the precious Casket wherein should be kept the roll and pages of records of all that He had revealed to them. God would dwell with thinking souls, beside His own thoughtful utterances.

Those utterances were never to become a dead fetish ; He would ever add to them. He was a Constantly Speaking God. No wonder that ere long the people loved to call Him, in their synagogal sermons MEMRA (מֵמְרָא), that is, "THE SPEAKING ONE." GOD was to be the Living WORD. That was the essence of Jewish Religion. Hence came the notable verse in John i. 1.

Was there not a demand, some one asks, for an Atonement to be made between the people and IAHWEH ? No indeed, for they were already all one with Him. Wonderful sacredness was in all this faith. Again, some one asks whether they did not drop blood on the Throne on the precious Casket and thus make at-one-ment ? They put those drops there, as we have seen, as the mark that He was present and was already at one with them. When they slew a sacred victim for food for the

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religious feast the people ate the cooked flesh, but the blood was IAHWEH's share ; and so a drop of it marked the Throne as His place in the company enjoying the feast. So also they put drops on the various articles around the Casket, on the ear of the ministering Levite, and on his foot ; for all these were IAHWEH's special property. Judaism prescribed no link to be made between the people and their Devoted God ; His choice of them from of old was their At-One-Ment.

SECTION IV

THE CHARTER'S FATE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

EAGER to gain at once in advance a hearing for unusual statements, we shall set down here in brief an outline of notable but almost totally disregarded facts which we are going to describe and substantiate.

Immediately after Nehemiah there were great additions made to the "P" Document.

This was doing just what the Document itself had foretold in Exod. xxv. 22. "IAHWEH said, 'I shall continually tell you more of My will.'"

Not only were vital alterations made internally, but several strikingly different documents were prepared to take the place of the original Charter.

Thus there was a constant development all through the ages before the Coming of JESUS. He Himself approved and supported that, saying, "The scribes stand in Moses's place: whatever therefore they bid you do that observe and do" (Matt. xxiii. 2 f.). So He taught that Mosaic oracles and Divine commands for the people's guidance were continually being given; He never dreamed that the Bible was a completed thing, never to be altered.

We have before us, therefore, the task to prove all this, and to show two most important matters, namely, what were the actually resulting contents of the Old Testament literature as we have it in our Bible? and what was the essential resultant nature of Judaism? We shall thus discover what was the religious environment into which JESUS was sent; in a word, what sort of religion produced Him.

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It is beyond our present task to trace the story of Judaism as it has gone on through all the Christian centuries ; but it is a most interesting study. And it would show that Judaism has continued to trust to God's gift of constantly increased Divine teaching. It is quite true that about A.D. 100 Rabbi Akiba and his companions formed a so-called Canon or Rule of Old Testament Books, saying what writings had especial Divine importance, but notwithstanding that Canon the Jews have never ceased to believe in God's ever-fresh inspirations : they go on thinking out new and ever newer Divine Doctrine.

It was in truth unfortunate that after the formation of that Jewish Canon in A.D. 100 the Christian thinkers of those days thought it their duty to accept that Jewish Canon for their own, along with the sacred list which they had gathered of New Testament books ; and among Christians there grew up a fancy that the Canon in both cases was to be unchangeable. But it might go without saying that that strange fancy has never actually controlled Christian teaching.

Now let us name the contents of this Section before us, which shall show the actual fates of the Great Charter " P."

We are to see developments and alterations within the Document itself :

(i) We shall examine the Appendixes added in Exod. xxx. ff., also in cc. xxxv.-xl. ; and those in Leviticus and Numbers, but all briefly.

(ii) We shall see alterations where a new rule directly contradicts an older one.

(iii) We have to see how into " P " were interwoven, inserted, and combined the other

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Documents, the Iahwistic "J", the Elohistie "E", and the Deuteronomic "D" writings.

(iv) It is well to observe that this Combined work is called the TORAH (תּוֹרָה); but it is a serious mistake to translate that word Torah as "LAW." It does not mean law, but DOCTRINE. The Pentateuch is the Mosaic Doctrine of Salvation, not the Mosaic Law.

(v) The complete replacement of the developed "P" Document is to be seen in the CHRONICLES, in the Book of JUBILEES, in the Sermons preached in the Synagogues, called TARGUMS; and we may add in the Pentateuch treated as a Liturgy in the daily readings by many even to-day who are not at all able to translate the words into their own languages. And we shall see "P's" Document superseded, if we may use the word, by the Second Law, called the MISHNAH (מִשְׁנָה), which grew up in the conferences of the long line of Elders from 300 B.C. onwards.

CHAPTER II

IN APPENDIXES

The Appendix in Exod. xxx. ff.—Above we enumerated the articles of furniture in the Tent of Trysting. There was the Casket, which was the Sanctuary proper, and it was to stand in a separated chamber divided from the main body of the Tent by a precious Vail. Outside of this inner room, in the Holy Place, were to stand the Table for IAHWEH's food, and the seven-lighted Lamp-Stand. Outside of the Tent was to be placed a Slaying-Place (מִזְבֵּחַ), commonly called by us "The Altar of Burnt Offering." Some one asks now, "Where was the Altar of Incense?" There was no such thing ordained in the original plan set out in cc. xxv.–xxix., and closed completely by the last words of ch. xxix.

But not very long after Nehemiah's time there was felt a need for a fragrant sweetening of the atmosphere in the Tent; so an Appendix was prepared saying there should be such an arrangement, and a few other new developments were also made. The arrangements for all these are written in ch. xxx. f. Clearly this provision of Incense is an addition, and quite a new thing: that is perfectly clear to any one who reads the closing verses in ch. xxix. Now let us observe several extremely interesting details in the words providing this new development or, shall we not say, "this added revelation and new Divine Command." This was already a fulfilment of ch. xxv. 22, "I will constantly give you new commands."

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Of course, it was not a "Place for Slaying," which in Hebrew would be called מִזְבֵּחַ (Mizbech); it was a "Place of Incense," called in Hebrew מִקְטֹר (Miqtor). Thus since the Hebrew verse contains both terms we must suppose that here is what is usually called a doublet, a second word having been inserted to improve the verse. So our English Bible translates "Make a Place for Slaying, a Place for Censing with Incense." Thus the altering hand is manifest already; and some one believed he had another new revelation.

But now we ask where this Altar for Incense was to be placed.

The reply is one of the most interesting cases of addition, we might call it a most fascinating illustration. The English verse xxx., v. 6 says: "Thou shalt put it before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony." Then it adds, "before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony."

Will not every reader at once acknowledge that here is a doublet? Two places for this Altar are appointed! And they are different in a startling way. The first is *outside the vail*; the second is *inside that vail*! The certainty of this in the Hebrew verse is perhaps visible even to eyes that cannot read Hebrew, if we set down the two parts of the verse one over the other, thus:

1st half, place it לְבַנֵּי הַפָּרֶכֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת

2nd half, place it לְבַנֵּי הַכִּפֹּרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָעֵדוּת

This strange fact becomes much clearer still if we turn to the LXX Version. That was written

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somewhere between 300 and 200 B.C., in any case later than 300, and therefore at least one hundred and fifty years after Nehemiah's time. Now, in that Version there stands only the first of the two directions for the placing of this Altar. Evidently when the Greek translator, probably in Egypt, made his translation he had before him a Hebrew which had not the second direction. This second few words was added therefore on some day well on after 300 B.C. Why was it added? And why did they not strike out of the verse the first direction? We are to face these questions presently. Meanwhile we are surely deeply impressed by the fact, thus again manifest, that the thoughtful Jewish persons living then knew nothing about such a theory as the so-called inerrancy of Scripture, the unchangeableness of the Bible-revelations; that mistaken theory is seen to be entirely contradictory of the Bible, its writers, and its Jewish worshippers, in those early days when the Book was composed.

Why was this particular addition made, and what did it mean? In answer we point to the following verse, 7, which says that the chief priest is to burn some of the sweet incense on this "Altar" every morning and every evening; therefore, if the Altar stood inside the Inner and Holier room, this priest was to appear in there before the Casket of Communion, the so-called "Ark of the Covenant," regularly twice every day, according to the mind of the writer of this Appendix. Not merely once in a year, nor only on special occasions now and then, was he thus to stand in the most sacred place where IAHWEH would commune with him;

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but twice in every day he would have that sublime privilege of holding Communion with God. That blessed constant nearness to the Revealing God was desired and prepared for! They were to be able to listen to the Great Friend's Voice so often, and so regularly. The reason for the addition of this remarkable second added direction concerning the place for this Altar of Incense was the eagerness to talk daily with Him, to live very close to Him. Certainly we see here intense spirituality among those Jews both at the outset in Nehemiah's days and on through the generations. And the fruits of that spirituality were growing all along the following ages. Such was the religion whose Son was JESUS. We are learning to understand Him. We see His Coming. That was the way of God's Love; thus did He inspire hearts.

Why was not the first direction deleted when the second was added? Here plainly we may see another instance of the fine spirituality of those writers, manifest we may say in an actual controversy which was manly in its readiness to make alterations, but which was also singularly delicate and thoughtful in its expression; for if we look back to page 95, where we set down the two directions one above the other, we find in the Hebrew statements copied there that the first says, "Set it before the פָּרוֹכֶת, the PAROKETH," i.e. the Vail separating the two chambers; while the second direction says "Set it before the כַּפֹּרֶת, the KAPPORETH," i.e. the golden Covering Plate which lay on the Casket with the Document beneath it. These two words, PAROKETH and KAPPORETH, are easily seen to have the same letters, P, R, K, and

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K, P. R, arranged in different order.¹ Apparently the writer who added the second direction was unwilling to strike out his predecessor's words of the first direction: courtesy forbade that, so he simply suggested that the difference was very slight, a mere rearrangement of three letters, and might be due to a mistake. In any case here was a gently earnest expression of the desire we have named above: they hungered for more and more frequent Communion with ΙΑΗWEΗ. Such was the spirit of these generations, and such was the nature of that early progressive Judaism. Such were the fathers of JESUS.

The double direction was clearly seen by the early Christians, for the Epistle to the Hebrews is troubled by it. There, in ch. ix. 2 to 9, the writer wrote in v. 7 that the Chief Priest was to go into the Inner Holy of Holies to offer incense but only once a year; but in v. 4 he had already said that the Altar of Incense stood in that Inner chamber, so the incense-offering priest would have to go in there every day. The Greek word translated "Censer" in our English version in v. 4 is *Θυμιατήριον*, which means "Altar of Incense," as all teachers tell us. So the epistle writer actually wrote the two directions: one in v. 4 meaning that the Priest must enter that Chamber twice every day, and then in v. 7 he set the rule "Enter only once in a year." Scholars have always been puzzled by this, none more so than the late excellent Dr. Davidson of Edinburgh, whose final remark on the difficulty was characteristically beautiful, "We have faced

¹ The curious agreement of the way of alteration with the well-known Grimm's Law is most interesting.

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the difficulty : now let us pass on.” The whole story of those differences and alterations is a picture of beautiful spirituality in the very days that have been called barren of inspiration. They were full of divine ideas, and the thinkers were verily leaders for all the world.

It is not necessary to describe and discuss the many other additions made. The illustrations already given are enough to show the spirit as well as the nature of all. But a rapid enumeration of them will impress on us the large number of them, and the quite fearless mode of procedure.

In this same chapter xxx. are directions for a Tax to be levied for the support of the Sanctuary ; also for a Laver for the ablutions of the ministrants ; rules also for the preparation of Oil for the anointing of those ministrants. Chapter xxxi. arranges for suitable workmen for the construction of the Sanctuary.

We pass over cc. xxxii.—xxxiv. for the present, because they are parts of the Iahwistic and Elohistie documents interwoven here.

Chapters xxxv. to xl. repeat twice over, and very elaborately, directions for constructing the Sanctuary ; they do so in these two forms : first, in much detail they bid the workmen make this and that ; then they go all over the matter again giving directions for the Setting up of the Structure. A few other matters, such as a severe Sabbath law, are interwoven.

Leviticus is one large Appendix. It consists mainly of two divisions : first, plans for sacrificial ceremonies ; and then the long series of directions, cc. xvii.—xxvi., commonly called the “ HOLINESS

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LAW," "H," because nearly every rule closes with the formula, "Do this and so be ye HOLY (i.e. devoted to IAHWEH), as IAHWEH is HOLY, and devoted to you." Much of this "H" is like "E's" Code in Exod. xxi.-xxiii., based both of them on the very ancient Laws and Code of Hamurabi of Babylon, 2000 B.C.; but also much is additions made from time to time throughout the centuries after Nehemiah.

Numbers is another large addition; partly describing Registrations after the manner of genealogies that "P" had introduced; but also partly using interwoven sections of "J" and "E."

We have thus seen how readily and how constantly those early Jews felt that they were inspired of God to set down fresh records in the precious "P" document; they did verily believe in the Presence of the Ever-speaking IAHWEH. He was never silent, but always working in and through the ordinary thinking and writing of ordinary men. Such, then, was Judaism in its pristine days. We see now that that faith and practice of theirs flourished grandly all through the centuries. And it has flourished likewise through all the Christian ages. A clue seems surely to be discoverable here for the future happy union of all Jewry with Christendom.

CHAPTER III

COMBINATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

IN preface to what is to be studied now let us say that it is not at all necessary, nor would it be right, to try here to exhibit all the remarkable work of studious early Jews in combining the three or four Documents. The analytical work done by many recent scholars—Astruc, Wellhausen, Colenso, Bacon, and many others—is virtually exhaustive, and it is easily accessible. It is, moreover, interesting in the highest degree, as the present writer's brief summary of it in his *History of Old Testament Criticism* will show.

Among the chief features of the whole process it is first to be observed that the early students soon after Nehemiah's day knew those other documents well. Clearly the writings had been preserved as very valuable, which shows that ever since David's time, i.e. the date when "J" was composed, there had been plenty of literary interest among the people generally; and even when "E" was written in Isaiah's time, about 700 B.C., and was evidently contradictory of "J" in many a portion, yet they preserved "J." That speaks well for the native Hebrew courtesy towards the past, and the fine esteem they had for literature. Deuteronomy ("D") was written within the next century, 700 to 600 B.C., and was well known to Jeremiah. This new document, again, was quite contradictory of "E"; yet no one seemed to think of destroying the older writings "J" and "E." Indeed, it is

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held by many present-day scholars that these two, "J" and "E," were combined into one united document just in the century following Jeremiah's life. It is difficult to be sure on this point. Was the Combination of "J" and "E" made before "P" was written or after that? The greater probability seems to be that it was made before "P's" date, and the combination gave the suggestion to the "P" writer to publish his entirely new story and plan. In any case, "P" was not long in existence when the insertion of the combined "J" and "E" into "P" came about. Men were not at all so absolutely devoted to the new document of Nehemiah, "P," that they refused to combine the other two with it; and again, they were unwilling to lose the older documents.

And combine all three they did. Evidently the ruling desire was to preserve the older two stories from loss. But they did the work in curious fashion. For Nehemiah's book had been exalted as the great oracle; it was verily the first "Bible," and now, in venturing to produce a new and greater "Bible," they followed the very natural plan we follow in arranging our books in a library. They arranged by subjects. For example, they set the Creation stories side by side; but here we notice that they counted the "P" story the chief, and they set that first and put the "J" story second, although "J" was by far the elder of the two. We give a few other illustrations of the plan of arrangement: it is in their arrangement of the regulations given to Moses on the mountain-top in the desert. First they set "E's" Decalogue (Exod. xx.), probably because it concerned Moral Conduct; then "P's"

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plan for the Sanctuary followed in Exod. xxv.-xxix. ; finally stands (given in Exod. xxxiv.) "J's" Decalogue, which concerns chiefly Worship and Cere-monial. The first version of "E's" Decalogue, somewhat altered, is given in Deut. ch. v. ; it was necessary that it be given there, as it is the basis of the Deuteronomic plan of having only one Sanctuary.

Narratives of a chiefly doctrinal sort are given at fairly full length, such as the two Creation stories. But when the matter may be called more popular, such as in the case of the Flood, then "P" and "J" are interwoven almost sentence by sentence, with a result that is rather difficult to analyse. Yet constantly the greatest freedom is used in the interweaving, in order to give a somewhat naturally consecutive narrative. Thus in the Flood story, as combined, the little sentence "And IAHWEH shut him in," now set after v. 16, is a bit of "J's" story, and it belongs properly just before v. 12, where "J" tells that the rains fell. But the little bit, "IAHWEH shut him in," has been transposed because it could not very well stand before "P's" vv. 13-15, which tell "P's" record of how the creatures went into the ship. The door could not be shut before that record of entry into the vessel.

But a far more striking and even startling case of alterations and transpositions may be seen in the story of Jacob and his family migrating into Egypt and summoned before Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii. 1-7). The narrative is given quite differently in the Septuagint Greek version from the form given in our English Bible, which latter, of course, is, as we have seen, exactly what stands in the Hebrew

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version. But the Greek was made about 300 B.C. from a Hebrew manuscript which was a good deal older than the Hebrew used in making our English version. The older Hebrew was much altered after the Greek translation was made and before the later Hebrew, used in English, was written. We shall set the Greek form, Englished, of course, side by side with the English of the later Hebrew form, as in our English Bible, and the difference will be quite plain. We shall see the details of the alterations, and shall be easily able to understand why the changes were made. Besides, we shall learn most convincingly that those early Jews did not regard the words of Genesis as unalterable; they altered as they saw fit. Here, then, are translations of the two original Hebrew passages side by side :

*The original Hebrew as used
by the LXX.*

*The combined and altered
Hebrew as used by the English
version.*

(This is the Iahwists' Story.)

(c.xlvii) When Joseph came, he told Pharaoh, "My Father and my Brothers and their goods, and their cattle and their all, have come from the land of Canaan; and lo, they are in Goshen." (2) From his Brothers he brought five men, and set them before Pharaoh. (3) And Pharaoh said to Joseph's Brothers: "What is your work?" And they said to Pharaoh, "Feeders of sheep

(1) So there comes Joseph and sets forth before Pharaoh, and says, "My Father and my Brothers, and their flocks, and their herds and all that they have are come from the land of Canaan; and lo, they are in the land of Goshen." (2) And from the list of his Brothers he took five men, and brought them before Pharaoh. (3) And Pharaoh says to his Brothers, "What

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are Thy children, both we and our fathers." (4) And they said to Pharaoh, "To dwell in this land have we come : for food is lacking for thy children's creatures, as the famine is strong in the land of Canaan. Now therefore we would dwell in the land of Goshen." So Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Let them dwell in the land of Goshen. And if thou knowest that there are among them able men, set them to manage my creatures."

(Now begins the Second Story, which is "P.")

(4c) Now Jacob came to Egypt to Joseph, also his sons. And Pharaoh king of Egypt heard of it. (5) And Pharaoh spoke to Joseph, saying, Thy Father and thy Brothers have come to thee. (6) Lo, the land of Egypt is before thee : in the best land make thy Father dwell, and thy Brothers. (7) And Joseph brought in Jacob his Father, and set him before Pharaoh ; and Jacob blessed Pharaoh.

(Such is the earlier Hebrew. The "J" story in full (1-4) is followed by the full "P" story—(4c ff.)

is your work ? " And they say to Pharaoh, "Shepherds of flocks are Thy slaves : as we, so our fathers." (4) And they say to Pharaoh, "For sojourning in this land are we come, for there is lack of food for the flocks which belong to Thy slaves ; for the famine is heavy in the land of Canaan ; so now do let Thy slaves settle in the land of Goshen." (5) Then spake Pharaoh to Joseph, saying, "Since thy Father and thy Brothers have come to thee, (6b) and since the land of Egypt is before thee, in the best of the land cause thy Father and thy Brothers to settle. And if perchance thou knowest, and there be among them men of strength, then set them as masters of property of what I have." (7) Then Joseph had his Father Jacob come, and he made him stand before Pharaoh ; and Jacob blessed Pharaoh.

(Here the two are adapted into one by omissions and rearrangements.)

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The details of the differences are not hard to see : in the main they are these : The original text, i.e. the LXX's Hebrew, had two quite separate and different stories, the second of these beginning where our v. 4c begins ; but when the editor who made our Hebrew saw this, he determined to weave the two into one easily consecutive story. So at the beginning of v. 5, as shown on the right hand side, this editor has dropped out entirely a passage, viz. the statement that Jacob came to Egypt ; he dropped this because it was already said in v. 1. Then the king's consent to let them live in Goshen, and his order to Joseph to select some of them to tend the royal cattle, were originally at the end of v. 4 ; but they have been transferred to v. 6. It is well to add that the first of the two stories belongs to " J " and the second is from " P."

It is not necessary to quote any others of the many illustrations of the freedom the late writers used in editing, altering, transposing, deleting just as their judgment guided them. And they were perfectly sure they were right in this. Herein we see the character of early Judaism. But we pass on from seeing in these two cases the fate of the Charter as respects its internal form. We have still to show a more remarkable feature of the early faith regarding sacred writings. We are to see " P " set aside and an effort made to replace it, and this effort was made several times over.

CHAPTER IV

FOUR RIVALS OF THE CHARTER

The Books of Chronicles.—Our study of this work in detail as the fruit of eminent spirituality will come before us later when we look upon what we may well call the Bloom of Judaism ; but meanwhile we have another task in examining it. We are to see how thoroughly the purpose of its composer was to displace “P” and to give an almost entirely different set of theories concerning ceremonial, and even concerning past history also.

THE CHRONICLES BOOK was intended to supplant “P,” so it begins with “Adam,” and tells its story from him down to 300 B.C., the date when it was written ; finishing with its new system of Worship. It gives its own ideas of the genealogies of the Fathers. And it might go without saying, because it is so well known, that it tells of a very different system of ministers at the Sanctuary from the system given by “P.” But this was not a mere effort to propose different plans ; rather was it, so to speak, a record of what was going on and regularly practised before the writer’s eyes. The different system, or shall we call it the enlarged system, had been developed since Nehemiah’s days, i.e. in the century and a half 450–300 B.C., after the great Persian governor had introduced “P,” Chronicles was written about 300 B.C. ; of that we shall see the many evidences especially that Alexander had already done his terrible work, and he died in 323 B.C. The Chronicler’s enlarged system

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was in use in the New Testament times, for Zachariah, John the Baptist's father, is described in Luke i. 5 as belonging to "the Course of Abiah"; and those Courses of Priests were described in 1 Chron. xxiv., where the eighth Course is called the Course of Abiah. We know, too, that these courses were in full operation in the days of the Maccabees, for the father of those patriots, Mattathias, belonged to the first Course, that of Jehoiarib named in 1 Chron. xxiv. 7. So 1 Macc. ii. 1 says. But there had been not a word said of such Courses in "P" in Exodus, etc., where the only ministrants at the sanctuary were Aaron and his sons (Exod. xxviii. 1). So the original "P" Charter had been outgrown. The Chronicler did not propose something which had not been thought of before: he was simply describing what he saw going on around him. The people as well as himself were discarding the plans of "P" to some extent.

Hence came the natural consequence that there was in later times a decided effort to discredit Chronicles altogether; the book was not allowed into the honoured collection of Hebrew literature: it was kept out for many a day. This is not to be realized by a look at its place in our English Bible, for in that it stands beside "Kings." But in the Hebrew collection it stands as the very last book in the whole. A part of it, which we call "EZRA," was torn off and set much earlier in the collection, clearly because it was valued as the only source of information concerning the so-called "Return from the Exile." We shall examine this matter fully later on; but meanwhile all these details show that there was lively questioning concerning Chronicles,

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and there was deep interest in the value and honour of "P," some persons being satisfied to set it aside, while others refused to sanction that. In the sequel Chronicles did get into the collection, but "by the skin of the teeth." The advanced ways and plans of this heretical Chronicler were accepted; the people were liberal-minded. Such was the early Jewish character, and such was the fate of the "P" Charter.

Another feature in Chronicles will show quickly how the character of the people was advancing, and they were leaving the old Charter. It is the position given to Ishmael. We remember that "J" had said Abram had turned Hagar out into the wilderness to bring forth there her child, which was his child. Then "E" had said the mother and boy were indeed turned out, but not until Ishmael was some ten years of age, and able to go to his mother's tribes to become a nomad hunter. Quite an advance was made by "P," who never hints at any turning out, but has this son circumcised at thirteen years of age, as his father's respected representative. And when we read Chronicles we learn (1 Chron. i. 28 ff.) that Ishmael's generations are recorded before those of Isaac!

Two other rather marked differences from "P" must be named. First, the Chronicler reports that much music was provided for in the Sanctuary, with special guilds of Singers, and also with some Songs or Psalms; and here he is leaving altogether the simpler way of the Charter of "P." Certainly a happy fate this was: the people were entering by the Chronicler's day on a far more joyous experience than Nehemiah and his followers knew. Judaism

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was rising in ability and in gracious beauty. But it was just such a result as we could expect; since "P" had believed that IAHWEH in His trusted meetings with the people would give them new and ever newer commands. Now He had commanded them to sing.

But finally—and, shall we not say, most notable feature of all?—Moses is never mentioned as the leader and guide into these fresh advances; that Teacher is hardly ever named in the whole Writing of the Chronicles. The author of all the System of Worship is David; Moses had almost nothing to do with it. It was David who planned the system of Song, of Singers, of Porters, Gatekeepers, and of Devotees called "Nethinim," and the Courses of the Priests. The old story of Exodus, cc. xxv. ff., was far too meagre. Most probably all these developments were already in operation around our Chronicler. So the "P" Charter had met its fate, the fate which it had prophesied. Those Jews believed in a never-ceasing Inspiration. So the Chronicles show us the Fate of the Charter. Men considered earnestly how methods and plans had arisen which were not known to the writer of "P"; there was controversy indeed, and not all men held the same views; but that just shows the thorough activity of the people's mind. Nehemiah knew King David well, of course; but he never said a word imputing to the royal founder of the kingdom any of the Plan of Worship. He knew the king, but it was the Chronicler who exalted him as the Great Founder of the Worship. We are learning what character the Jews had then: thoughtful, literary, diligent they were. In a later Section

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of the History we shall study the spirituality of these Books of Chronicles closely ; meantime we know their freedom, and we see that the Jewish people in those formative days were not at all slavishly bound to particular documents.

The Book of Jubilees.—We are making a long leap across the generations, for this work was composed somewhere between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100. If we find the same spirit of eager care to pass away from the great Charter even in those days of the Sadducees and Pharisees, who are commonly supposed to have been most sternly opposed to any alteration in religious methods, then we are coming to know far better than has usually been known the genuinely advancing thoughtful nature of Judaism. Such a discovery we make as we learn about this so-called “Book of Jubilees.” A fuller study of the work will come when we reach in our story its people and the time of composition ; at present we need only show the decided advances the author made. So the Fate of the Charter “P” will be understood.

It must be said at the outset that for knowledge of this work we are deeply indebted to two scholars : one is our own profound and brilliant Englishman, Rev. R. A. Charles, M.A. ; the other is the late venerable German, Dr. Augustus Dillman. Of the two the English work is perhaps the more valuable, as it uses much earlier manuscripts. Its title is, *Masha Kufale, or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, otherwise known among the Greeks as ἡ λίπτη Γένεσις (i.e. “The Little Genesis”), edited from four Manuscripts, and critically revised through a continuous comparison of

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the Massoretic and Samaritan Texts, and the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate, and Ethiopic Versions of the Pentateuch, and also further emended and restored by the use of many Fragments. Oxford, 1895.

The substance of the work is a new enlargement of "P's" Genesis, claiming to give in fullest detail the revelation received by Moses on Sinai. The time from the Creation Days until Moses is divided into fifty Jubilee-Periods of fifty years each, whence the name.

The whole is based on "P," as we read that Document scattered about in our Bible, but it adds many enlargements and explanations. It will be enough to quote one or two of the fanciful additions, in order to give a comprehension of the ways of men at the time of writing. Thus in the story of the Creation, and concerning the Sabbath, we read that the Revealing Angel of the Presence said to Moses :

"It is holier and more blessed than all the Jubilee-Days of the Jubilee-Years. For we Angels observed Sabbath in heaven, before it was revealed to all flesh that they should observe the Sabbath."

Again the death of Adam is described thus, giving an explanation of the meaning of the words, "In the day thou eatest of it, thou shalt die" :

"At the end of the nineteenth Jubilee period, in the seventh Year-Week, in its sixth Year, Adam died ; and all his children buried him in the land of his creation. And he was the first person to be buried in the earth. And 70 years were lacking of his becoming 1000 years of age. For 1000 years are as one Day in the records of heaven ; therefore

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it is written concerning the Tree of Knowledge, 'In the day thou eatest of it thou shalt die.' So the years of that Day were not completed, but within that Day he died."

Much information is given as to where the early men, Cain and others, found wives; also how the animals ceased to speak like men. Such curious questions were asked by the Jews in those days, *circa* A.D. I.

It is not an uncommon practice of some persons, who think they will exalt the solitary uniqueness of the Bible-Scriptures, to brush this Book of Jubilees aside as a piece of idle chatter; they say it is only a Midrash, a fanciful "novel" of those times, with no spiritual feature at all. Yes, a Midrash it is: there are not a few of these sorts of composition actually within our Bible itself. ESTHER is a Midrash; so is DANIEL. A Midrash was a sermon; the term means "A place of study." They were the efforts of devoted thinkers and preachers who saw troubled souls about them, and sought to minister comfort by such sermons. Indeed, we may say that the Great Charter itself was a Midrashic Sermon. All thoughtful men among the Jews then were earnestly seeking to strengthen trust in God's care. Here was no mere pleasantry or novel writing, but a genuine result of the Charter's own great teaching, "IAHWEH will ever give us new light." Here was spirituality indeed. The fate of "P" was to produce this.

In the Sermons of the Synagogues.—It may sound strange to most persons to hear the word "Sermons" used here. But sermons there were, preached in the assemblies all along the centuries

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300 B.C. onwards into Christian times. And fortunately they can be seen and read in English through the wise care of Rev. J. W. Etheridge, M.A., of St. Austell in Cornwall. That scholarly gentleman published two volumes of them in 1862. Unfortunately he set over them on his title-page the mysterious name "The Targums"; and no doubt that word has been a scarecrow. But it is simply the word meaning Sermons in the Aramaic, or Syriac, language, which was the speech of the Jews in those three hundred years. We know to-day a relative of the term in the name "dragoman," which is given to the "interpreter" who accompanies a touring party in Palestine, or who attends at the Eastern courts to interpret Turkish, Arabic, and other languages for the sake of strangers to these tongues of the Eastern lands.

The Hebrew of the Old Testament was forgotten by most Jews during the exile; they were in a sense overwhelmed by their Syrian or Aramaic neighbours from northern Palestine; and Sermons preached in the Synagogues on Genesis, etc., had to be in the Aramaic tongue. Here we get a deeply interesting sight of the religious character of those times. Their sermons were prepared for the common people; they were not disquisitions for the learned men, for these knew their Hebrew well enough, and needed no Aramaic interpretations. Remarkable spirituality was in this preaching work, which by most of us has been entirely unknown.

Likewise, deeply important and interesting is it that these Sermons, or Targum-explanations if we will use the term, were what JESUS heard all through His thirty years of boyhood and manhood. So the

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sermons tell us what filled His mind on Sabbath after Sabbath as He worshipped : these discourses formed His thought, the food of His soul. Well may we study them ; so we shall see Him. Besides, they let us see what was the sort of minds He worked upon. We must use these writings far more if we wish to tell men His message, and to understand them and feed their minds as He did.

While the worshippers listened in the Synagogues to the reading of the Hebrew passages of the Old Testament which were appointed for the Sabbaths, they heard the sound, but they got no meaning from that ; it was in an unknown tongue : they did not understand Hebrew. Therefore the wise ministering elders always followed that reading by expositions, expository Sermons, Targums. So we shall see the Fate of the great Charter by watching what the expositions made of it. A full account of the expositions must be given when we study the Period of the Bloom of Judaism in a later section. Meantime we have only to indicate in general how the ministering preachers treated the Charter.

At once let us set first a feature in their discourses that will lighten up the fine opening passage in the Gospel called "JOHN." What does the Gospel writer mean by using the expression, "The Word"? We learn the answer in those Sermons. From the very first chapter of Genesis onwards, not always but very often, where we expect the sermon to say, "God did this or that," we find him saying, "The Word of God did it." So John i. 1 says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word *was* God." That was no scholastic or philosophical effort to

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theorize on God's nature, or to lecture on the Greek expression Logos (Λόγος); it was the expression fitted exactly to the ear and the mind of the ordinary worshipper in the Synagogue. The Expounders used for our term "The Word" an Aramaic expression, MEMRA (מֵמְרָא), which means exactly "The Word"; and consequently there has been a great deal of wondering among theologians of certain kinds over this singular term. But that is needless, and really it is missing the mark; for those sermons were not for the learned people, as we have seen, but for the very simplest men and women in the synagogues. The preachers were indeed thinking no doubt of the sublime sentence, "He spake and it was done," and the object was to comfort the simple. But we see that in doing this the preachers left the words of their Great Charter. Its fate was to be a help for feeble hearts.

We find one more illustration of this in the preachers' use of the name of God. We know that in Genesis, and all along until Moses came, the "P" Document never says the word IAHWEH; that name IAHWEH was not known, so he believes. In the "P" passages we read only of "ELOHIM." But our preachers brushed that all aside. They saw well that there was indeed this notable difference between Gen. ch. i. and ch. ii.; they knew that the former chapter, part of "P," says always "ELOHIM," and that in ch. ii. comes a change. They felt evidently that this was sure to be a stumbling-block for ordinary souls, the men and women who were listening to the Sermon; so in ch. i. they altered the words of their Charter. They struck out the word ELOHIM and put in its

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place the other name "IAHWEH." That was the Fate of the Charter at the hands of the Jewish preachers whose sermons JESUS heard in Nazareth. It was a noble, a sublime fate, worked by a noble faith and love. Those preachers were verily saints.

In the Growth of Doctrine.—To the ordinary reader it might seem almost too obvious to need saying, that any addition to THE LAW of MOSES would be a forsaking of the Books of the Pentateuch ; but so a sorry fate would appear to have befallen the Charter, given in Exodus especially, if THE LAW were altered. Another reader of lighter mentality might deny altogether that there could be among the Jewish people any development of "THE LAW" beyond what stands in the Books of Moses. But these difficulties vanish on examination. Sore misunderstanding of the New Testament books has arisen from the false translation of the Hebrew word "TORAH" (תּוֹרָה) by our word LAW. Torah was not law : it was Teaching or Doctrine. The Torah that Paul fought against was not "The Law of Moses," but rather the *Doctrine* of Moses concerning life. Moses had taught that circumcision secures Divine Blessing ; Paul denied that, and said "Circumcision avails nothing, but faith, i.e. trust, in God's love as shown in JESUS, gives the life to a soul."

All present-day thoughtful persons have arrived at the opinion that Doctrine cannot cease growing ; Teaching must always grow fuller, larger, more real. And that is just what the wonderful verse in Exod. xxv. says, "I IAHWEH will tryst Myself with you to meet you there by that Casket containing the 'P' record, and I shall give you there

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always more and more guidance for ever." And such constant guidance came, as already we have seen : the Fate of the Charter was that it should be continually changing. So there grew additions and alterations along all the course of the centuries : first the additions we saw in Exodus itself, then so largely in Chronicles, Jubilees and Sermons. But we possess also rich records of the work of studious Fathers, known by their individual names from the days of the Chronicles, 300 B.C. on to the years of JESUS. Schürer has shown finely in his *History of New Testament Times* how the teachings and doctrines thought out by those Fathers were collected about A.D. 100 to 200, and edited and published then. This publication is called "THE SECOND LAW," The Mishnah (מִשְׁנָה). But the development of Doctrine did not cease with that publication ; growth has gone on ever since, and by the year A.D. 1000 there had arisen what we know as the GEMARA (גְּמָרָא), or Completion. Indeed, steady development goes on still : how could it be otherwise ?

JESUS made several notable references to that growth, as it had come about by His time. He found stern fault with such developments as were essentially contradictions and nullifications of highest moral principle. He said in Matt. xv. 6 that the sense of duty towards parents was being undermined by certain "Traditions of the Elders." And yet also most remarkable and extremely valuable is that other reference of His to this Mishnah given in Matt. xxiii. 1-3, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat : all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Therein stands

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His recognition of the old promise of Exod. xxv. Such fresh light on duty was constantly becoming clearly seen even by men who were careless about doing what they saw to be right. Thus the Christian Doctrine of Duty given us by JESUS just repeats the old Doctrine of the Jewish Charter. The Fate of that Charter was to become the Moral Plan of JESUS: there shall be ever more Teaching from God.

The full account of the Mishnah is to come before us in the later volume on *The Bloom of Judaism*; but it is of deep interest to listen already to two striking statements contained in this great Second Doctrine-Book:

In one of the chief divisions of it there is a treatise called "The Sayings of the Fathers" (פְּרָקֵי אָבוֹת). It declares that Moses first received inspirations of God's mind; he delivered these to Joshua; that follower handed on the privilege to the Prophets; and they gave it over to the men, or Fathers, or Elders of "The Great Fellowship." Not words did they hand on from one to another, but INSPIRATION. Such they believed was the constant Communion of men with IAHWEH, the ever-Speaking God. Then the writer in those "Sayings" proceeds to warn his readers what is their noblest duty: it is to build around Doctrine its true circumference and consequences, to make ever more and more searchers into Doctrine.

Later on in those same "Sayings of the Fathers" stands a passage that deserves to be inscribed, not so much in gold on the walls of our abode, but on the fleshly tables of every heart. It runs thus, "If ten men sit together meditating on the Doctrine

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of GOD, there will He enter in and be one with them Himself. But if only five be there : yes, He will come and be with those five. Likewise with three, or with two ? Yes ! But what if just one soul of man sits alone in such meditation ? Ah, then IAHWEH Himself will come beside that one : so there will be two in a Fellowship ; and IAHWEH will be there to speak and to commune.”

Certainly any querulous reader will find an occasional word or sentence in that Second Book of Doctrine, perhaps a whole paragraph, that may seem trivial ; but the heart of it is before us. We have seen the INFANCY of Judaism, and its YOUTH, and its CHARTER, and its Fates. We can see Him coming along His own way.

SECTION V

THE BLOOM OF JUDAISM IN PERSONAL
CHARACTER

CHAPTER I

GENERAL VIEW AND PERSIAN RELATIONS

WE open this second stage of our story of what the Jews were spiritually in the centuries when their character was reaching beyond the initial generations, and marching forward into the long course of their world story: a course that has for durability, productivity, and self-consistence completely and far away outshone people after people around them. They have lived on steadily while every other one of the many nations as they have risen has soon passed away. Does not the thought come up in any earnest soul that surely those initial generations in 500 B.C. to A.D. I must have possessed some remarkable nerve-traits of great value, some honourable genius, and why not also some high spiritual dignity? How otherwise could they have become so striking a feature in the story of life throughout all the last two thousand years? Can we discover what they were individually, and what they thought and did just before JESUS was born? What was their secret? What also is it now?

These last words arouse another serious question and reflection for us who trust to the Personality and Character of JESUS as our vision of GOD. How did He come? Indeed, all men prove on examination to be really concerned to know how He came into existence. We are in this present task not seeking to satisfy any deep craving of Christian people only. It is a serious fact that virtually all

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men are wondering just what JESUS was : they do care. Now, whatever else He was, He was a Son of Man : He said so. He must then have had a pre-natal history ; and, like all others of us, He will become more and more clear to us if we learn what was the nature of His ancestors. It is folly and worse to dream, and to speak of Him, as if He had dropped out of the sky, without fathers and mothers in the generations before Him. He will be seen, He will be known, when we know the course of the development whereof He was a climactic point. The neglect of such investigation has caused many to neglect our churches. Men know instinctively that He can be understood, through understanding of His human ancestry, and they will not endure a pulpit which ignores this. The picture of the ages from 500 B.C. to His birth is a picture of Him ; to know that picture is to know Him, " Whom to know is life eternal." Let us therefore watch for that in profoundest and most sacred reverence.

Certainly there is a strange indictment that we must lay against the treatment religious teachers have given to the great features of those centuries ; but it is a true indictment. Teachers have left out of consideration many of the finest persons—men, writers, faiths, characters—that the world has seen. And these writings and faiths have been not only left out of study : they have been mocked and scorned. Have we not laughed at the Talmud and the Targums ? Let us at once run rapidly over the list of the literature of Judaism B.C. in order to ward off beforehand the cruel blows that have been dealt at all those times.

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We propose to look first on two exquisite characters, ordinarily pushed out into neglect.

(i) We are going to claim that HABAKKUK belongs to just about 300 B.C., and that he was a brilliant product of the religious spirit which we have watched in the "P" document, the Charter of Judaism. We shall show the evidence of this, in opposition to the old tradition that he lived and preached three hundred years earlier. His great foe was not Nebuchadrezzar: it was Alexander, so-called "the Great." His sublime faith tells what the Jews were three centuries before JESUS' birth. The noble record of the character of his people, to be read in his work, has been thrown aside.

(ii) Again the Chronicler, writer of those two booklets that we are shy of reading, for several reasons to be examined below, has been pushed aside as an evident falsifier, one who made flagrant alterations in the narratives he found in Samuel and Kings; and who took the liberty to invent a host of supposed features among the little people, and to suppress many others that he disliked. All these faults, so-called, we are to examine. But we shall discover in this Chronicler a saint, a genuine son of God, a man eager for righteousness and for beauty in all worship.

(iii) Then next we hope to see how the early JUDAISM was a great Missionary life. We shall study their Home Missions by listening to the Sermons that sounded out from their reading-desks in the Synagogues, and which JESUS heard through all His days. We may say He helped to make these.

And the Septuagint was a noble Foreign Missionary Institution. We have commonly fretted

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over its origin and smiled at its fancied miraculous creation. Or we have pored over its many editions—at least six—so very different one from another, and different also from the original sense of the Hebrew. We have controverted about Paul's use of this magnificent Greek Bible; we have tried to do away with its idiosyncrasies; and we have sometimes called it a product of narrow partisanship. But all along we have missed seeing the intensely devout toiling of its translators to lift up and to keep at highest level the character and the conduct of the emigrated Jews so hard pressed and tempted in the "foreign lands" of Egypt and Asia Minor. Those translating teachers carried out, long before Jesus said it, His beautiful watchword for true sons of God, "Go ye out into all the world and preach your Gospel to every creature." They were Evangelists who wrote that Septuagint.

We have abundant results of the strenuous efforts men made to deepen and to illuminate the moral character of all Jews. Strangely enough, again, this part of Jewish activity of soul has been cruelly discounted. The Mishnah has been almost entirely set aside. Judaism has been mocked in many of its greatest products. For example, the Wisdom Books, which were the Jewish Books of Social Instruction in Morality, are three in number: Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Solomon; but only one of them has been allowed a place in our Old Testament. We are to-day beginning to admire some small extracts, and actually to count one passage from them as fit to grace a funeral service; and a most gracious passage indeed it is. Yet it is quite a common experience to hear leaders of

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ministerial colleges considering anxiously whether knowledge of Ecclesiasticus and Solomonic Wisdom should be required of their students. But we are now to look upon the simple purity of the men who wrote those books, their fine home life, their freedom from narrow traditions; and we shall probably say as we read, "How could Christianity fail to come out of JUDAISM after these people had lived and thought and spoken?"

We touch now a tenderer nerve. It is common fashion to laugh and even to sneer at "The Second Doctrine Book," that enlargement of the Pentateuch which is called "MISHNAH" (מִשְׁנָה). "Finicking," some folk say that the whole is, straining at gnats, burdening men sadly. We shall examine it; we shall see that it is filled with faith in most beautiful, most humble, personal and intimate communion with God, and it is eager with large-hearted care to lighten all burdened Jewish souls. Some men, indeed, in Jewry, both long ago and of recent years, have tried to bind it as a yoke on others; but it is reasonable to think that it could never have endured so long and received such care, such study and often publication, unless there were in it deep value. We are going to look into it presently.

(iv) Then how little is known among our spiritual teachers in pulpits and schools concerning the noble work done by the new royal dynasty of the Maccabees! And what prejudice has prevailed against recognizing the songful minds of the Jews in the two centuries just before Christianity, i.e. 200 B.C. onwards! We shall search both the Collections of Psalmody: (i) those called "For DAVID," i.e. "For the Days of the Kingdom"; and (ii) those called

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“For Solomon,” i.e. “For the changed, but more glorious Reigning.” The Psalm-Books have ready for our sight a vaster store of spiritual cheer than has ever been realized, much as they have been used in our worship—we had almost said, “much as they have been *misused*.” Ideas have been imputed to them that would amaze and trouble greatly those who first sang them.

Besides all the store of service we find in them for our own exercises of worship, the Psalms are a deeply rich storehouse of illumination concerning the days and the mind of those who stood round about Jesus. If we are to become acquainted with “The Saints” who waited for Him and who welcomed Him, it is in the Psalm-Books that we can study them most successfully, as these are, one might say, the Autobiographic Songs of the Saints.

Let it then be clearly stated and grasped at earliest that already theologians are beginning to understand that Jesus did not drop out of the blue as an utterly new thing, quite different from all His fellow-Jews; but He was bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. Judaism produced Him. We have seen that already; we are to see it more remarkably the nearer we come to His actual appearance. Such a foreword is a just preparation for a sight of the two beautiful men, HABAKKUK and THE CHRONICLER.

Persian Relations.—After Nehemiah’s great work in bringing in the “P” Charter and securing its adoption about 450 B.C., there was a long period before the first notable features of the Bloom of Judaism begin to rise before us in the two personal illustrations just named: HABAKKUK, and the

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CHRONICLER, about 300 B.C. What was the course of events and of progress during those hundred and fifty years from Nehemiah onward ?

A striking feature that meets us at once in any study of the relation of the Jews to Persia in those ages, 500 to 300 B.C., is the very great length of the reigns of the Medo-Persian kings or emperors. Thus Cyrus the First, beginning in about 540, ruled for some twenty years ; Darius I followed in 520 with thirty-four years, including the times of his attempts to conquer Greece at Marathon and elsewhere. XERXES succeeded in 486 with twenty-one years ; and tradition says his Queen was the famous Jewess HADASSAH the Myrtle or ESTHER the Star. ARTAXERXES I ruled next for forty-six years, from 465 onwards ; he is notable for this very long reign and also because Nehemiah was his vizier. Darius II was crowned in 425, was the father of our old school-friend Cyrus the Younger of the Anabasis that Xenophon wrote, and was king for twenty-one years. The elder son, Artaxerxes II, surpassed all the list, for he was king for forty-six years, beginning in 404. Artaxerxes III began to reign in 359 and ruled for twenty-three years ; in his time there lived a frightful demon who destroyed many a noble person, and practised much cruelty upon Jerusalem ; he was an Egyptian eunuch called Bagoas or Bagoses, of about the year 350 B.C. Now succeeded the most remarkable of all those rulers, Darius III, called Codomannus, who lost his kingdom and his life through the terrible blood-thirst and greed of Alexander of Macedonia, commonly called "the Great." We shall discover this man to have been one of the world's greatest

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and saddest failures, very like to those other two signal failures, Napoleon Buonaparte and William II of Hohenzollern and Berlin.

Long reigns are usually to be taken as signs of prosperity, good management of the State, and kindly treatment of the people. So we are quite right in believing that JUDAISM was happily governed by most of these princes. Besides other signs of their kindliness towards the little Jewish provinces there is the traditional story of Xerxes or Ahasuerus and his choice of the brave Jewish maiden Esther to be his queen. The "Esther" story is in the main fully supported as actual history.

The following king, Artaxerxes I, made the Jew Nehemiah his vizier, and appointed him repeatedly to be governor in Judæa. Of course, we are reliably told that the Persian Kings, being Zoroastrians in religion, were true to the principle of their teacher the great Zoroaster, and they suffered all the many different religious customs of their wide-flung empire to be freely and happily observed. The Jews seem to have suffered no oppression on account of their IAHWEH religion, but rather enjoyed a thorough support for it; except in the one case when the Egyptian eunuch Bagoas violated Jewish rules concerning their sanctuary in Jerusalem. It is a wonderful and happy fact that those one hundred and fifty years, 450 to 300, went on so peacefully; we have no record of any cruelty towards Jews, save in the one case.

We turn to a closer consideration of Judaism in those days, as we can see it in the two striking personalities named; they shall illustrate for us the fine results of the spiritual education of the

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nation under the "P" Charter, which we have studied above in Section III. We shall be obliged to controvert severely the common and very wrong supposition that Alexander of Macedonia was a great or noble character. His deeds were those of a tyrannic monster. To understand these things we examine the Book of the Prophet **НАВАККУК**.

CHAPTER II

HABAKKUK v. ALEXANDER

Of the Date and the Value of His Prophecies.

—There has been for many a day a common fancy that the Jews in their contemporary literature took no notice at all of so gigantic a person as Alexander, the so-called “Great.” But we are learning our mistake, if we have followed the seeming neglect. We have supposed that they said almost nothing about him. It would be very natural to wonder how those worshippers of IAHWEH could ignore ordinary affairs, and especially such as must have been so influential in moulding history. Surely the progress of events which we find adumbrated in the Bible literature cannot be incommensurable with other human story, Greek, Roman, and the like. But to-day we are awakened to realize that the life and religions of the peoples amongst whom came the Son of Man must have been deeply concerned with such a world-catastrophe as Alexander wrought among Sons of Men.

Did the Jews keep no record of that catastrophe ? When we read Josephus we find a fairly long Persian story about XERXES, ESTHER, MORDECAI and HAMAN. He has only a few sentences about the Egyptian eunuch BAGOAS, who was perhaps a Persian Governor in Palestine, and who violated the Temple in Jerusalem ; but more about this evil man we miss. An account is given of the question to be considered below between Jerusalem and Samaria as to which of the two cities, Jerusalem or Samaria,

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was that chosen by IAHWEH for the site of the one and only place for an Altar, such as Deuteronomy had desired. Finally, our friend Josephus does tell us that Alexander was much impressed by the appearance and character of JADDUA, the High Priest of Jerusalem at the time of the Macedonian's invasion. That is all his story in the matter ; we are left unaware of the religious character of the Jews in those crucial times. Did the people whom Alexander tormented leave no mark on the pages of literature ?

We open the books written in the Maccabean reigns and concerning these, i.e. soon after 200 B.C. Here at once we see that the Macedonian cruelties were well known among these Jews who were rapidly developing into the richly thoughtful community who lived around JESUS. These thought and spoke very much about the ruthless soldier from the west. DANIEL writes of him again and again, and evidently the terrible Greek's work had burned its story deeply into men's hearts and memory. To read Dan. vii. 7, 19, 23 ; viii. 5, 21 ; xi. 2 ff. is to learn how the Maccabean writer knew that the awful conqueror's deeds could never be forgotten.

Moreover, the Greek versions of the Book of ESTHER call Haman a Macedonian, thus showing that this name "Macedonian" was synonymous with all that was cruel and frightful towards Jews ; this helps us also to know a little of the date of the wonderful tale as being connected in some measure with the Macedonian invader Alexander.

Surely, then, we may come to our study of the times of those Macedonians with expectation of

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discovering in some way that there were surely records of the calamities written down at the very time when they came about.

Purpose.—Therefore the admirable monograph of Professor Duhm of Basel, "The Book of HABAKKUK," brought a sense of relief to students of those days.¹ HABAKKUK was long supposed to have been a contemporary of JEREMIAH and NEBUCHAD-REZZAR, *circa* 600 B.C. But Duhm points out the entire unfitness of the little book to have come from that date. He gives also the strongest of reasons for regarding the dreadful enemy whom HABAKKUK denounces as having been Alexander the Macedonian, and not at all the Babylonian Nebuchadrezzar. We set down briefly the following arguments for Duhm's contention :

On the old theory of Babylonian origin, many good expounders have felt compelled to dissect the little book in pieces ; they attributed some parts of it to one date, and some to other times. But even so the various supposed "pieces" have not all fitted in with the history of the supposed times. Nothing in the theory was stable. Now all of this difficulty falls away at once upon the Macedonian theory.

The master-key to the problem meets us clearly in ch. i. 9, where the enemy is described thus :

"From Gomer they marched *towards the east*."

¹ See the volume : *Text, Translation and Commentary*, published by Mohr, Tübingen, 1906. See also Duhm's *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, 1910, and Duff's English Translation of this, published by A. & C. Black, 1912.

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The Hebrew word (קָדִימָה—Qadimah), translated by us as “towards the east,” cannot possibly have any other meaning. All the many attempts to escape from this fact lead only into absurdities. Habakkuk describes the terrible foes as marching towards the east, from the west of course ; and that is just what Alexander and his armies did. But it is exactly what Nebuchadrezzar and his Babylonians could not do, and did not do. Babylonians would be coming west from Mesopotamia to Palestine, and would be marching *from the east*, not towards it.

What of the words “from Gomer”? These words (מִגֹּמֶר) are what Duhm suggests instead of the untranslatable Hebrew MG^{MT}H (מִגְמַת). There is no such word as G^{MT}H (גְּמַת) in Hebrew, and Duhm suggests that some copyist has made the simple error of setting the letter ט (TH) instead of ר (R), thus altering the original GOMER into G^{MT}H. The mistake supposed is quite a natural one. The word “GOMER” is the Hebrew for “Cappadocia,” and Alexander passed through Cappadocia in Asia Minor on his march “towards the east.”

Succeeding arguments come from the descriptions of the invader's methods, habits, and armies. Habakkuk's enemy comes “flying on the wings of the wind”; all is haste and hurry in his campaign. And what was more characteristic of Alexander than just this fearsome fleetness? Thebes and other Greek cities knew how they had been suddenly surrounded all unawares by the Macedonian's phalanxes, when they had no dream of his nearness. Just so Darius, gathering his huge forces at Issus, thought himself easily able to marshal all in readiness

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for the invader, with plenty of time to spare ; but suddenly he saw the Macedonian's flags and hosts within his boundary and close to him—nay, actually bearing down upon him. Habakkuk's description of the enemy's hosts as "panthers," "eagles," "evening wolves" might have been copied directly out of Plutarch's vivid story of Alexander. On the contrary, Nebuchadrezzar always moved slowly.

So, too, the heaping up of besieging mounds which the prophet figures is exactly what Alexander did. We know nothing of any such war-measures by Nebuchadrezzar. The seer tells of his foe sacrilegiously offering worship to his arms, his swords, and his battering-rams. He cries out against the terrible man's massing his captives within his nets, his ruthless destruction of men and homes, of forests and every blessing of the soil. And so this Jew's picture of the Western destroyer is exactly the picture of Alexander, as given in works of history such as Arrian has left us.

We come to the saddest part of all—this man's reckless treatment of himself. His character as a drinker, who did himself to death at last by his debauchery, is singularly and accurately described by Habbakkuk in the fourth of his "Woes" (ch. ii. 15 f.).

But let us turn from the sadness to some gladness in finding that the prophet-singer uses language and technical terms belonging to those later dates when Alexander arose. Three at least of the words we may mention, and we shall see in them that the conceptions of Habakkuk were of that very day, and largely the result of the "P" Charter.

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The word Mo'EDH (מוֹעֵד), Trysting-place, occurs, which the Charter in Exod. xxv. made important. Let us set here the whole passage (ii. 1-3), for the ordinary English Bible translation is poor :

- “ Away up on my guarding place let me stand :
- “ Let me plant myself in a strong defence !
- “ And I will look out for what He will say within me ;
- “ And what I shall bring back for the sake of my argument.
- “ Then it came to pass that IAHWEH answered me, and He said :
- “ ‘ Write down the vision : Carve it on tablets,
- “ ‘ In order that any reader of it may run :
- “ ‘ For still there shall be a vision at the Trysting-Place [Mo’edh],
- “ ‘ And it will whisper at last : it will not utterly fail :
- “ ‘ If perchance it should delay, keep thou watching for it :
- “ ‘ Verily it is going to come : it will not utterly fail ! ’ ”

Could there possibly be a finer illustration of a devout Jew’s appeal to the promise given in Exod. xxv. 21, 22, which says :

- “ Thou art to lay the testimony that I am to give thee in the Casket ;
- “ And I am going to Tryst with thee there (in My Mo’edh) ;

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“ And I am going to talk with thee from upon that Throne,

“ Concerning all that I am going to command thee.”

The Jews believed that IAHWEH had promised through that “ P ” Charter to Tryst with them : to engage that He would come to meet them, and He would tell them always all His guidance for every time of need. So Habakkuk uses the grand promise. He needs now a strong guard against the foe. He needs a place of defence. He needs a strong argument to convince his countrymen that they are safe under the care of IAHWEH, Who has promised to commune with them. So he goes to the spot where the sacred Roll of Testimony lies in its Casket for safe keeping ; perhaps it was in the Jerusalem sanctuary, or it might be a Synagogue, for they placed copies of the Roll in all their synagogues. Had not God promised to guide them ? But some anxious soul might ask, “ Why had not God given the guidance already ? ” Habakkuk answers, “ A Tryst is always for a set time. Have no fear of His failing to come ! He will come and speak at the time arranged by His Tryst. Though He seem to delay, He will never deceive. Wait on IAHWEH.”

In the following verses we see that the whispered revelation and vision have come. So Habakkuk and his comrades had waited in expectation at the Trysting Place. They were directly the children of that great Charter and its Giver. They belonged to a time when the counsel of Nehemiah had been tried for a century and a half ; it had never failed ; it was not to fail now, even if the proud ravagers came down like wolves over them.

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Another technical term Habakkuk uses is TORAH (תּוֹרָה), which is found in ch. i. 4 :

“ On this account (תּוֹרָה) Doctrine and Teaching are going to languish ;
“ Justice is not going to abide forever.”

The earlier prophets had spoken of their own oracles as “Teaching” or “Doctrine,” Torah (תּוֹרָה) ; it meant simply “Pointing” or “Teaching.” Then when the Charter came through Nehemiah, his Roll “P” was called Teaching or Doctrine ; and it was to go on coming with its constant additions to guide them all in the Courts of Justice. Habakkuk deplores its ceasing through the war ; and only later does he remember and use the words of Exod. xxv. 22 concerning the certainty of God’s Tryst being fulfilled in due time. It must be carefully kept in mind by us to-day that Torah, or Law, does by no means signify the so-called “Five Books of Moses” ; these were supposed by some to contain the substance of the Moses-Teaching, or -Doctrine ; but they were not to prevent the constantly coming additions.

A third technical term is “Anointed” (Mashiach, מָשִׁיחַ, i.e. Worthily Anointed), which appears in ch. iii. 13 in the triumphant closing anthem. Habakkuk chants :

“Thou wilt go out to the help of Thy people,
“To the help of Thine Anointed ones.”

Very probably the writer used here the plural

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מְשִׁיחִים ("His anointed ones"), although that is not absolutely certain. The term had not been much used : it could be applied to a king, of course, but also it was used for the "anointed priests," as "P," the Charter had said in Exod. xxix. 7 : "Pour the anointing oil upon the head of the Chief Priest" ; and then in the Appendix he had said (ch. xxx. 30) : "Thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons." So the anointing had been extended to all the priests. Here, then, Habakkuk chants of these priestly leaders in the Sanctuary, that Trysting Place where the Prophet at that moment was receiving IAHWEH's revelation that He would of a surety come to help them. The word could not mean that there was an Anointed King whom God would help, for there was no king possible at all then ; the province was under Persian monarchy and was governed by a Pasha, such as Nehemiah had been. Some who still contend for Jeremiah's and Nebuchadrezzar's day as the date of Habakkuk could say that then in that earlier time (600 B.C.) there had been a king, Zedekiah ; but that poor feeble man was soon put to death, and Habakkuk could hardly have meant him. He is clearly pointing to the *anointed priests* who stood round about him (*circa* 300 B.C.) in the temple.

We look now at a chief difficulty in our view that the date was *circa* 300 B.C. In ch. i. 6 we read in the English version :

"For lo, I am raising up the CHALDEANS, that bitter and hasty nation."

This surely means, says some one, that the enemy was the Babylonian host of Nebuchadrezzar. How

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can we face this difficulty? The words seem to assert that the date is 600 B.C. after all. Let us set down the actual Hebrew words, and underneath them we shall write the form which, as Duhm suggests, was probably written at first by the prophet:

The Bible Hebrew is: כִּי הִנְנִי מֵקִים אֶת־הַכַּשְׁדִּים.

Duhm's suggestion: כִּי הִנְנִי מֵקִים אֶת־הַכְּתִים.

which, being translated, will be: "Behold Me raising up the Chittim." Thus by this alteration Duhm suggests that Habakkuk did not say, כַּשְׁדִּים (Chaldeans), but he said כְּתִים (Greeks). Duhm thinks the original word was not "Casdim," which means "Chaldeans," but "Chittim," which means "Greeks" or "Cretans"; and he believes that the Prophet wrote, in the name of His God:

"See Me raising up the GREEKS."

That, says Duhm, must have been the original word, and the alteration in the course of time from "*sd*" in *Casdim* to "*tt*" in *Chittim* is a simple change to have taken place. This emendation must be made, in order to fit in with all the other evidences that Habakkuk meant the Greeks or Macedonians, i.e. Alexander and his hosts.

It is well to add, as Duhm does add, that about 300 B.C. the Greeks, including the Seleucid kings of Antioch and the Ptolemies of Egypt, were well known and very powerful, and were close at hand near Habakkuk. It would have been dangerous,

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an old copyist thought, for Habakkuk to offend them by such strong denunciation as our little book speaks out against the enemy. So the editor or copyist would alter the name and did not allow the anti-Greek denunciations to stand. They therefore put in the name of the Chaldeans or Babylonians of three hundred years before, who had passed out of existence long since. But Habakkuk did denounce Alexander! The difficulty for us caused by the word "Chaldeans" inserted instead of Chittim (Greeks) disappears.

The Contents of Habakkuk.—There are six oracles in the Book, and their Contents are as follows :

The First Oracle, ch. i. 2-4

The Prophet cries in agony, "IAHWEH seems deaf!"

The Second Oracle, ch. i. 5-11.

Here comes the difficulty. Let us sum up thus:

Verse 6.—"For see! how I am raising up the
Greeks [Chittim],

"That bitter and lightning like people!

Verse 8.—"Lighter than panthers will be his
horses,

"Keener than wolves of evening will
they fly!

"His steeds will leap; yea his steeds
from far off will come.

"They'll fly like an eagle speeding to
devour!

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Verse 11.—"Now the wind has raged: he has crossed over and passed by.

"And he will blasphemously . . . O ZEUS! . . . impute his strength to his God!"

This remarkable reference to the Greek God ZEUS is probably Habakkuk's own, and it would show his date to be, as we have claimed, 330 B.C. But even if this mention were an insertion by a later scribe it would show how men regarded the whole as referring to Alexander.

The Third Oracle, ch. i. 12-17.

This is the Prophet's appeal to IAHWEH, telling of the Conqueror's frightful deeds: "O IAHWEH, canst Thou see this unmoved?"

The Fourth Oracle, ch. ii. 1-3.

The Prophet declares he will follow the guidance of the now ageing Charter (Exod. xxv. 22). He will away to the Sanctuary, the Place of Trysting with IAHWEH; and he will await there the appointed moment for the surely coming revelation. He must not fret over a seeming delay: God's Tryst will be fulfilled when the due trysted hour arrives. He shall come! He shall come! Wait for His fixed time! His promised coming can never fail. "In my soul," says the seer, "He has bidden me write down clearly all He will tell me, so that men on the street, running past on their anxious tasks and fears, may easily read it and may take cheer." So IAHWEH has whispered to Habakkuk already.

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And now the vision rises plain and terrible in his mind.

The Fifth Oracle, ch. ii. 4-16 omitting 13a and 14 as interpolations, and we place v. 17 where it really belongs, just after v. 13b.

The Oracle simply sets out the sufferings of the people and the nations, and utters their mocking angry outcries against this invader. He has been a fool ; he has been more ravenous than hell itself. But men in agony have called out four woes against him, that are to be the sure result of his cruelties :

First Woe. “Thou art a thief !
 “ But theft is always a debt : it must
 be repaid.

Second. “ Woe to the tyrant, mad to make a
 dynasty :
 “ Thy house shall fall crashing over
 thee.

Third. “ Woe to the bloody hands that build
 cities.
 “ The Lebanon hills and the very
 cattle shall take vengeance on
 thee.

Fourth. “ Woe, thou hast made men drunk
 and naked for thy accursed
 sport. Drunkenness shall kill
 thee ! ”

The Sixth Oracle, ch. iii. 2-15.

Psychologists will tell us how natural now it was that this man, Habakkuk, was carried away into

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dramatic vision; and, like the composer of the JOHN-APOCALYPSE, he sang out almost unearthly pictures of GOD's ways. You see IAHWEH's abode in Sinai; He hears the horrible invader's tramping; He flies to save His folk, with their anointed priests in the venerable Sanctuary, where Habakkuk is bowing before the throne of his GOD. IAHWEH's steps are on the mountain-tops; He ploughs out with His feet the river-channels. Is it any wonder that the best of literary men have listened in amazement at these grand and almost other-worldly words? Let us hear them:

- "ELOAH came from Teman in the far south:
- "Beams of light shone from His hands:
- "Twas He that drove asunder nations:
- "The everlasting mountains were scattered: the perpetual hills bowed:
- "Was IAHWEH displeased against the rivers?
- "The mountains saw Thee, and they trembled!
- "The sun and moon stood still in their abode!
- "Thou didst thresh those peoples in anger:
- "Thou didst wound the head of those wicked ones!"

But a change comes in the singer's heart. He gazes on the beaten enemy; he bows in pity, in agony; he weeps for the ruin of their souls (v. 16).¹

Such is the marvellous fruit of early Judaism. Let us seek to formulate the religious faith of this mighty soul and his countrymen. We shall have to alter our estimate of the too often despised people, when we see them as represented by HABAKKUK.

¹ The vv. 17 ff. are a later addition.

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The Religion of Habakkuk in Judah, 300 B.C.

—It is scarcely necessary to note the particular year of Alexander's reign wherein these oracles were uttered. Probably the invader had already fought the great battle at Issus in 333. That was apparently the first great shock to the Eastern folk. Hitherto Palestine had had no idea of such a coming calamity. The sieges of Tyre and of Gaza seem to have been finished when Habakkuk described the heaping of mounds for siege. And perhaps the fourth "Woe to the Drink-Giver" was written after Alexander had actually fallen a victim to drunkenness, so its date may be soon after 323 B.C., when he died of this. Thus we have in the faith of the writer a sight of the Jewish mind between say 330 and 320 B.C.

This Macedonian invasion would be the first touch of Greek influence upon the forerunners of JESUS. It was no great blessing for Judaism; and, indeed, the debt of Christianity to Greece has surely been heavily over-estimated. The supposed spread of Greek ideas, and language, and civic organizations, and especially any spread by them of Platonic thoughtfulness, were all crushed instead of cherished by such a man. Scholars well acquainted with the field in question tell us that this barbarously cruel Alexander well-nigh killed out all progress of Greek philosophy; and in the half-dozen centuries just before and after JESUS, Greece produced no great mental activity of much consequence whatsoever. It is important to observe just here the now well-known fact that really the tide of spiritual influence flowed in the opposite direction—that is to say, Hebraism and Judaism contributed a far more

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momentous element to Greek thought than *vice versa*. This has not been noticed much by classical students ; let us say that generally those students have had very little to say of the origins of Greek thoughtfulness in the fifth century, 500-400 B.C. But why do they not record, for their own joy, the notable fact that Æschylus' "Prometheus Vinctus" is simply a Greek version of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, that fourth of the great series of Slave-Songs which, for source and for contents, are indeed the wonder of the world ? It is not too much to say that probably the sublime Greek poet Æschylus, when a soldier warring against the Persian enemies, met some of the Hebrews who had been slaves in Babylon, and who were no doubt ranked among the Persian soldiery on the Bosphorus ; thus the Greek poet might well catch from Hebrew slaves the inspiration that had descended from Amos and Isaiah through Jeremiah until the climax came in Isa. xlii., xlix., l., and liii. Some day the lineage will be reckoned vastly farther back to the Hamurabi in Babylon, who wrote so marvellous a code of Ethics, *circa* 2000 B.C. ; and to Akhn-Aton, Emperor of Egypt, *circa* 1500 B.C., who rose to a height of theistic and ethical grasp and ideal that have scarcely been surpassed to-day. The thinking of the world did not begin with Plato. Certainly the Jews of Alexandria spoke and thought in Greek, and their Greek versions of the Hebrew and Jewish literature have been of immense service to Christianity ; but that influence of Alexandria was not the work of Alexander, but of those Ptolemys who really destroyed Alexander's dynasty, thus fulfilling Habakkuk's second Woe. The very name

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of that city is an irony. We think of it as we read again ch. ii. 6 and 9 :

“ Shall not all of the nations lift up their proverb against him ?

“ Shall they not make a mocking song, and utter riddles about him ?

“ They will cry Woe to him who, for his own dynasty, but by wrong deeds, gathers riches.”

It is of much interest to read what Professor Duhm said of our Prophet in his introduction to his monograph, written now twenty-one years ago. Duhm is a Swiss professor, but a German by birth, with sons in the German Army ; hence we may watch in his words how the German thought then of such conduct as Alexander's, and of the same spirit as Alexander's manifest to all the world to-day in the deeds of the late Berlin Staff. Duhm said “ Habakkuk lived in times of deepest peace ; his little people were protected by the mantle of Persian sovereignty, and so, as it were, sunk in sleep, troubling not at all concerning the ways of the world.” Hab. i. 5 shows this ; and Isa. xiv. 32 is a parallel picture written just a little earlier. . . . “ The people lived peacefully by their fields and their trade. . . . Jews at home or abroad were perfectly content with their present, so long as their business and their property were safe. Now suddenly an utterly new people comes from the far-off ends of the earth, and brings over the whole world entire destruction of this peace ! All possessions are threatened ; the merciless man swallows up the

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peaceful citizen, and makes booty of all souls as well as of their homes and their fields, so that the nations have been working for the very fire, and have laboured in vain. Habakkuk stands up for the simple citizen, against the man of world-history; he stands for the rights of property, as against the rights of conquest; for peace, as against war; and for honourable morals, as against reckless pleasure-seeking. For him Alexander's plan to upset the world is simply a hunt for booty; it is brutal robbery, with murder and manslaughter. Habakkuk has no interest in historical necessities, in the eagerness of a young nation to expand, in the desire of the European to master the world both materially and mentally, or in the effort of the Macedonian Titan—surely scarcely realized indeed by him—to open new paths for the development of mankind.”¹ Duhm goes on to say: “Habakkuk wished that the history of the nations should be ordered by the laws of the rights of the individual, and according to the laws of civic morality. He believed that the Highest Wealth is peaceful possession of property; and that the Highest Virtue is justice in works and ways, and the observance of worthy manners. It must be carefully remembered, and that with praise, that this Jewish writer stands forth as the champion of all peoples, and as defender of the rights of all mankind: never once does he betray anything of the arrogance so common among later writers, who would have liked to see the goods of all other peoples

¹ All this suggests surely that even twenty-one years ago a German had learned to weigh seriously such plans, as to-day we see with horror and disgust that Wilhelm madly tried to carry out.

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taken in possession by their own folk, even when only violence could accomplish this."

We turn now to see that Habakkuk shows how well the ideas and methods of the "P" Charter-writer of 450 B.C. had entered into the ways of thought of all the people when this man wrote in 320 B.C. Here Judaism had its noble fruit. The man is certainly a Prophet, with genuine *afflatus*, as his Psalm shows; yet he lives and moves in the same lines of worship, of inspiration, and of organization that had been so beautifully set out in the system of religious life drawn up in Shushan and brought to Jerusalem by Nehemiah. He loves to speak of communion with IAHWEH at the side of the Sacred Casket, that place of Tryst, the gold Throne above the Records of God's Love. There he believes he ought to receive every new Doctrine or Torah. He sees how many fresh and recent inspirations given at that Trysting Place have developed new methods, as we are to see in Chronicles; and especially how a large body of honoured and anointed officials has come into existence. Habakkuk is a genuine representative of the normal unfolding of Judaism as forecast by Nehemiah's great Charter.

Habakkuk would not have been a real Jew if he had not held IAHWEH to be peculiarly the God of Judah and Israel. For him IAHWEH is utterly devoted to the interests of that people; and they are bound to be utterly devoted to His honour and His glory in the eyes of all men. This Prophet is not yet a real monotheist; for the special relation he cherishes as between Israel and IAHWEH implies that, in some strange sense, all other peoples have

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other deities that are devoted to them. He believes that there are many Gods, one for each people and land.

This leads us directly to what we might call his singularly *implicit* monotheism. For to Habakkuk IAHWEH is absolute God over all things, and men, and Gods. IAHWEH rules all the movements of men, of kings, and of earth and sky; aye, He causes the mind and the movements of this awful tyrant. In some concealed way all these are controlled, and even ordered and caused, by IAHWEH. And "IAHWEH cannot die"; He will not abdicate His throne. IAHWEH is leading on this Alexander, the terrible worker of misery. IAHWEH is working out the evolution of some Divine end.

Habakkuk leaves us in no doubt as to how he knows this. To him the touchstone, the key that will unlock all secrets of Providence and will certainly reveal IAHWEH's Divine rule is this, or rather it consists in these two facts:

- (i) IAHWEH will always work righteousness; and
- (ii) His righteousness shall always prevail in this world.

Habakkuk holds firmly these twin faiths. The natural and moral consequences of things and of conduct cannot fail to come about; there is an infallible *nexus* in all things. The woes coming surely upon Alexander are simply the inevitable spiritual reactions of his own deeds. Nature works thus. And IAHWEH is God of all nature. He is the One Great Spirit Who never for one instant swerves from upholding those inevitable laws of

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nature and of spirit. Such is Habakkuk's theology, such is his conception of God.

While we say that the Prophet rests in this confidence, let us not suppose that he was a grim believer in remorseless fate. He had a heart as tender—yes, just as kind—as had JESUS of Galilee. When he sees in vision Alexander falling in agony and ruin under the final terrible footsteps of the God IAHWEH, who is coming from Teman to save His beloved folk, then Habakkuk cries out in agony of sorrow. And for whom is this sorrow? Ah, the wonder of this man's heart! He is weeping sorely over the terrible ruin of this man Alexander, and his armies, and his people! He loves men—even an Alexander. He can forgive. Such was Judaism! Do we not see how surely JESUS, when He came, fulfilled the ways of the hearts of those prophet-souls who were like Habakkuk?

Such, then, is Judaism as seen in one of the finest of illustrations that it is possible to imagine. What a noble development is thus unfolding before us! Such a character as HABAKKUK was had been developed in and by the Religion of Judaism as we have traced it from its foundations in Hebraism, especially as we have seen it in Isa. liii. Then we have learned to understand it in Nehemiah's Priestly Charter, Exod. xxv. ff. Ought we not to seek to make all our people acquainted with that noble Charter and its fruit? And the fruit was to be greater than what we have seen. It was going to produce JESUS.

JUDAISM was in essence entire trust in the Great Controller Spirit as One Who is always ready and eager to hold communion with men. Such

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communion would produce Righteousness. Men would become more safe, free, and Godlike. God's way and work would triumph over all on earth, all men and all things, working righteousness in all. True men would carry on the affairs of the world ; an Alexander could not. No wonder that some old devout reader of HABAKKUK wrote on the margin of his book the beautiful sentence, "The Righteous man shall live by his trustworthiness," that sentence which PAUL quotes so worthily in his Letter to Rome.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONICLER, WITH EZRA

HERE are two or three little books which puzzle the student. They seem far more complicated than are any of the greatly discussed parts of the previous narrative books. For in those earlier books there is always a method running in the puzzles, which helps the perplexed reader. But here the difficulties become so odd that one becomes really amused with the strange sights. And yet the whole is a deeply devout product: we might say it is beautiful, in its own way. We may set out in our reading of the people's religion as the writings show it by noting first some remarkable features of a general sort:

Certain General Features of Interest.—The author may be said to give his signature in 1 Chron. xxviii. 19, where we read, not in the ordinary English translation but in the original Hebrew, "All this in writing from the Hand, or Power of IAHWEH resting upon me, did He cause me to understand and grasp for myself, namely all the services of the plan." It is important to observe that our writer does not claim that a writing had been handed down to him out of heaven; he is careful to say distinctly that he was aware of the Divine power, or *afflatus*, resting upon him. We may surely all agree that that is an excellent and very thoughtful way of describing what we all know in our own actual experience. But extremely interesting is the little glimpse into this Jew's personality. He is quite

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anxious to be known as the writer, and to have it known that he had communion with IAHWEH, just as "P" in Exod. xxv. 22 had described and promised. This reference to his own writing is much like that of JOB in ch. xxxi. 35, where the sufferer declares that he there and then sets his "mark"—the Hebrew TAU (יָד or +)—to his assertion that he has been innocent of cruelty. So, too, Paul declares again and again that he himself has verily written, even "in large letters," what he publishes in his writing (Gal. vi. 11).

There is another curious sidelight, probably telling something of himself, 1 Chr. iv. 9 f., the story concerning Jabez, which is a strange passage, surely an insertion or a marginal note, for it has no connexion as it now stands with its context; and whatever it means it does seem to tell of the Chronicler's special interest in a particular person, and concerning his own heart's desire.

We wonder always at the peculiar title of the Book; and we ought to say "at the *titles*" of it, for there are several different ones. One is our own in the English version, "Chronicles," but a reader might say that real "chronicles" are not given; it is rather a medley of notes of many kinds with little connexion and many defects. Then the Septuagint calls it "Paraleipomena," which means "things left over"; but it might still more correctly be called "things not left out," for it leaves out systematically a great many things which the books Samuel and Kings would lead us to expect. The best title is the actual Hebrew one, דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים ("the affairs of the days"), or "daily affairs." No suggestion is given that the writer sets out to tell

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any consecutive story; but he rather writes a "Journal," somewhat as Mr. Pepys did. He tells us what he liked, as one writes one's own diary.

When did he write? There are several indications that we may trust:

He tells of one JADDUA as High Priest, the last of a long list that he gives. And that JADDUA would be most likely the person of whom Josephus writes that he went out from Jerusalem to meet Alexander on the invader's march towards Egypt; so that the pair became very good friends. Then it closes about 300 B.C.

Another feature also supports this idea of the date. Money is reckoned chiefly by "Drachmæ" (Δραχμαί), which shows that the Greeks had been ruling for some time, and had brought their currency into large use in Palestine. So the date of this Chronicler would be some time after Alexander's end, when his general, or "Diadoch," Ptolemy, had taken the rule of Egypt and founded there a Greek dynasty, and when also Syria was under the rule of another former Greek general and his dynasty, the Seleucides. All these kings would introduce Greek coinage into Palestine. Some students think the coin mentioned by the Hebrew word "Darkemon" (דַּרְכֶּמֶן, or דַּרְכָּמֶן), 1 Chr. xxix., 7, should be translated "Daric," and it would mean the "coinage of Darius," one of the Persian monarchs so called. This would make the date still somewhat the same—*circa* 300 B.C.

Other notes of date are, first, the number of generations given of descendants of the Davidic family from Zedekiah until Chronicles, a rather uncertain method of reckoning, since generations

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are not always of equal length or of any definite length. Secondly, the system of temple officers described by our writer was in full working in the Maccabean times, 200 B.C. onwards, and therefore there had been plenty of time for it then to be quite customary. It had not been known in Nehemiah's time, else we should have found references to it in the Charter. The new system could not develop and become common entirely after Nehemiah's work into the form it has in Chronicles, and which it keeps in the later days, unless it was a genuine outgrowth of the people's ways and accepted and enjoyed by them. Clearly it is not a mere novelty invented by the Chronicler; he simply sets down what he sees going on around him. So we may consider that the Chronicler's story about it places it just midway between Nehemiah and the Maccabean time. Of course it is well known that the system was practised in the New Testament times, as we shall see more fully later on.

While watching the rise of the Book, it is well to see what a strange career it had in after years. Let us note this.

Naturally the ordinary English reader supposes that it was viewed quite favourably by those leaders of the people who were trusted to set together the various books of the Old Testament Collection, which is commonly called "The Canon"; for our English Bible sets Chronicles immediately after the Books of Kings. But in the Hebrew Bible, the arrangement of the Books is quite different; the student finds Chronicles at the very end of the whole collection. What does this mean in the mind of the people at first?

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To understand this fully it is necessary to say just what that Old Testament Canon really was, and what it signified. The Hebrew "Canon," so called, consists of three Parts, which are : (i) The TORAH (תּוֹרָה), which was the name they gave to the five Books of Genesis to Deuteronomy. Then a large Part was called "The Prophets" (נְבִיאִים), and these were in two sections, namely (הַרְשׁוּנִים), the Earlier Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel i. and ii., and Kings i. and ii. Following these stood the Later Prophets (הַאֲחֵרִים) ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, EZEKIEL, HOSEA, JOEL, AMOS, OBADIAH, JONAH, MICAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, ZEPHANIAH, HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI. DANIEL was not among them! Hearing all this, some one may begin to wonder where CHRONICLES stood. So we pass on to the Third Part, called simply "Written Things," or "WRITINGS" (כְּתוּבִים). If we look into the Septuagint we find that this Part is there called "Sacred Writings" (Ἁγιογرافα—"Hagiographa"). But no such description as "Holy" was given by the Hebrews or Jews. The books in this Third Part were to them only "Written Things," or "Writings"; and these were: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. So our Books of Chronicles are the very last! These facts startle fresh readers, and set up a good many side questions. For example, were the Psalms merely "Written Things" or "Writings"? Yes, the original owners and collectors of them saw no reason wherefore they should say these books were "holy" or "sacred."

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But perhaps the most strange fact of all is, that the CHRONICLES book stood last of all ! Why thus ? Evidently because, as we are presently to discover, this Chronicler was seeking to oust "P," the Charter introduced a hundred and fifty years before by Nehemiah ; and the Collectors, and probably indeed all the people, resented this and refused the heretic's book any place in their collection. Out the book must go. The system of worship, however, was believed to have been recommended and counted authorized, and that by David's royal command ; so they went on practising it. They were in a difficulty, and the difficulty was increased by another fact, which we turn to see.

For the Chronicler had brought his diary down to the so-called Return of the Slaves from Babylon to Jerusalem ; and had given an account of what then happened ; and there was nowhere any other record of those events. The Books of Kings had given nothing beyond the poor king Zedekiah's reign and ruin. Therefore, before relegating the Chronicler's heretical book to the void, they cut off a piece of it, the conclusion of it, in fact, which gave its fancied description of the Return. That conclusion of the Chronicler's book is the little book which we call "EZRA." This becomes quite clear when we examine the closing verses of Chronicles and discover that these are exactly the same as the opening verses of Ezra. We find that 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23 are exactly the same as Ezra i. 1, 2, 3a. Ezra is just the end of Chronicles which had been torn off its original manuscript. All the same, Ezra was set near the end of the Collection ; there

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was surely some suspicion that any part of the Chronicler's work was not altogether proper material for the new great volume. Then, later on, the little book of Nehemiah had been discovered, and found to be, as it were, the original source whence the writer of Chronicles and Ezra had taken his information, so that too was included. Moreover, Nehemiah's book gave the story of that noble man's bringing the "P" document to Jerusalem from Persia; and to honour that story and the Charter as Nehemiah had described them was sure to be a corrective to the wrong ways of the Chronicler. That was very necessary, for the little Ezra book had left out all reference to "P," the great Charter; The writer disliked it, as we are to see; and, far more strangely still, he never mentions Nehemiah except in one almost contemptuous way in Ezra ii. 2. He speaks, but only rarely, of the "Tirshatha," who was Nehemiah.

But times and ways changed then as always; and when the Sanhedrin of Jamnia, the chief Jewish ruling body about A.D. 100, decided what books should be admitted to their Hebrew Collection, they allowed Chronicles, mutilated of its ending Ezra, to be included in their sacred list. But they gave it only the very last place in the whole book. On looking into the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, we find Chronicles there placed next to Kings; that honour was given by the Greek Jews who lived abroad and who were always more liberal than their relatives in Jerusalem. Such, then, is the curious fate of this remarkable product of early Judaism. There was heresy, there was controversy, and there were

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differing opinions even among those early children of the great Charter of Nehemiah.

We may now ask what sources our writer used in preparing his work and what are the contents of the work. Two points are notable :

He used Nehemiah's Document. For he begins the whole with "Adam, Seth," and the other patriarchs ; and he loves to give genealogies. But he alters what he got from "P" very much. For example, he inserts a long account of a personage and tribe whom the late most learned and devout Professor Cheyne urged us to consider, namely, the Jerachmeelites. In 1 Chron. ii. he tells us that the grandson of Judah, by name Hezron, had three sons, Jerachmeel, Ram (רָם, or "an exalted one"), and Caleb ; and there appears in cc. ii. and xxiv. much detail concerning Jerachmeelites. They were the cousins of the tribe of Judah, dwelling apparently in the south of Palestine, and having large importance. Their name meant "A God is going to be ever merciful" ; and Cheyne believed that their sort of worship rivalled that of ΙΑΗΩΕΗ, being more precious, for this means "He is going to cause life." Perhaps Cheyne was carried away too much by his knowledge of the Chronicler's interest in this tribe ; but Jerachmeel was clearly of great importance in the minds of the early Jews, whether they were in favour of this tribe and its religion or opposed to them. And now let us notice a curious fact. In 1 Chron. ii. 9 we do not read of "Caleb" actually as being one of those three brothers who were sons of Hezron and grandsons of Judah ; the third is named Chelubai (Hebrew, כְּלֻבַּי, which means "my Calebites").

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Was, then, perhaps, our Chronicler one of that tribe? Quite possibly he was, and it would perhaps be therefore that he was disliked by strongly prejudiced Judahites. Does not the Book of Revelation in the New Testament reveal the ordinary dislike of Calebites by saying in its ch. xxii. 15, concerning the dwellers within heaven and without, "Without are dogs," which was a veiled way of saying in Greek what in Hebrew would have been "Outside Paradise are all Calebites"; for the word "Caleb" means "dog" in Hebrew?

In any case, Chronicles had in his possession other sources besides the books of our Old Testament; and he handed on, in his story gathered out of these, many notes concerning the Calebites and their cousins the Jerahmeelites. But he has other favourites, if we may say so; or shall we rather say, that he pays little attention to ISAAC, while he has a great deal to say of ISHMAEL. Again, he neglects MOSES seriously: only very few times is that venerable personage mentioned. He does not regard MOSES as the leader in prophesying the new worship system, or its enlargements. He tells us that DAVID did all that, as we are to see soon. We find, then, that the Chronicler used "P" and other narratives as sources of information; inserting here, omitting there, and weaving his story out of several strands. So far we have considered the books from Genesis to Judges. With certainty we find that he wished to displace "P" from its favour among the people, and to check their general use of it. Here, then, he was acting quite correctly on the principle which the great Charter had laid down: that is to say, there were always to be inspired of

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GOD new counsels and new courses of conduct. This is a remarkable feature that we discover in the religious faiths of those times, *circa* 300 B.C. : they had no idea of *Scripture* once for all laid down by heaven for men. Inspiration and Divine Utterance were to be perpetually going on. One asks naturally, "Could it be otherwise?"

Moving on to the Books of Samuel and Kings we find far more and more momentous alterations. From the very beginning the Chronicler sets David and his dynasty to the front; and he brings the successive line of that dynasty after Zedekiah in 600 B.C. down through more than ten successive legitimate individuals. Counting the average individual life at thirty years' length, this makes the last of the Chronicler's line a contemporary of Alexander, *circa* 300 B.C. Of course these ten later individuals were not reigning kings; but evidently to our author they were royal and most important. He gives this long line of Davidians before he describes the various tribes with their heads.

Now appear some startling peculiarities. After apportioning ch. iii. altogether to description of David's line, he follows in cc. iv.-viii. with lists of the tribes. He sets first Judah, Simeon, Gad, Half-Manasseh, Levi repeated fully twice over; then come Issachar, Benjamin, Manasseh-Half, Naphtali, Ephraim, Asher. Zebulun is mentioned very briefly. But Dan is left out entirely; and although some students say this omission is merely an accident, yet it is more likely that it was definitely purposed, seeing that the territory of Dan was one of the positions chosen by the rebel Jeroboam I for setting up his evil sanctuaries. That matter will

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appear more fully later on. A lengthy account of Saul's genealogy is given, followed in ch. x by the story of his sad death.

The whole remainder of 1 Chron. (cc. xi.-xxix.) is occupied with David's career, his valiant deeds, his braves, and his preparation of materials for Solomon's temple. In this long account one statement is very curious. The student of Samuel and Kings knows that there are two parallel narratives about David: one the early Iahwistic story "J" of 900 B.C. and the other the "E," or Elohist Book, written later, *circa* 700 B.C. The latter tells of David's conquest of Goliath; but the former says that one of the braves called Elhanan killed that giant. The Chronicler is anxious to give all the credit to David, so he says that it was David indeed who slew the giant, but this "Elhanan killed the brother of Goliath" (1 Chron. xx. 5). This illustrates our writer's mind and his devotion to the famous king. Our English translators of 2 Sam. xxi. 19 copied this about Goliath's brother, but *in italics*¹ in a half-hearted way.

But it is in this "David" portion (cc. xi.-xxix.) that the great alterations are made from the original record standing in Kings concerning David. We are told now that he made a large new organization of his officers and the people of all sorts. We need not enumerate all the Chronicler's alterations. But very important it is to note that he arranged the Priestly family, i.e. the descendants of Aaron, not, be it noted, all the Levites, in twenty-four Courses, each of which Courses should go on duty at the temple

¹ Our Revised version corrects this statement, omitting the words *in italics*.

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in Jerusalem for a fortnight in a year, coming up from their homes and possessions in the country for the purpose of this service and returning thither again at the end of the fortnight's tasks. So the whole body of the Priests would divide the year's work between them. We find in ch. xxiv. 7 ff. the names of the leaders of these courses ; and two are of much interest to us ; one, the first Course, called the Course of Joiarib, and to this belonged, in 167 B.C., the famous Mattathias of Modein, a town on the road down to Lydda and Joppa on the coast. He started the revolution against Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria. And so, too, his sons, Judas, Simon, and Jonathan belonged to this Course and were each due to serve at the temple for one fortnight in the year. Moreover, this Course was the first in the whole series of these Courses, so that the aged Mattathias was the *doyen* of all the Priests, next, of course, to the High Priest. So it was by that leading Minister of the Sanctuary that the revolution against the Syrian oppression was set on foot, which re-established the Kingdom of Judah, or of "David." Then, again, we read in Luke's Gospel (i. 5) that "there was a certain priest named Zachariah of the Course of Abia," and this man became Father of John the Baptist. But in 1 Chron. xxiv. 10 we learn that "the Eighth Course was that of Abia." So we see that this system of Courses attributed by our writer to David grew very notable in the whole succession of years to the time of Jesus. Thus this organization described by Chronicles seems certain to have been a very satisfactory plan in the eyes of the people, else it could not have persisted in operation and in such high

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esteem. Nay, more probably our writer was only setting down in his record of Courses a system which had gradually grown up into form and favour; but David could not have arranged it, else the Books of Kings would have mentioned it. Chronicles describes to us no doubt what he saw in actual working around him: he could hardly have been himself its originator.

Besides these Courses, says our writer, David provided for a large system of new officers. He established what are called Nethinim ("Devoted Men," נְתִינִים). Also the king, says Chronicles, arranged a guild of Singers, or rather of instrumentalists, and another of Porters. Our writer's description of all this development shows us his own devotion to Worship of IAHWEH, and to its worthy development in beauty and security.

Here we must observe, however, that the Psalms which are quoted in 1 Chron. xvi., etc., do not belong to the original writing of the Chronicler. They have been inserted by a later writer, as a careful reader will see clearly. We shall consider this matter more closely when we reach the subject of Psalmody in connexion with the Maccabean period, which is to be studied in a future Section in a later volume.

The note just made concerning the Chronicler's character leads us to point out another remarkable alteration which he made. In 1 Chron. xxi. he says that "an adversary [a Satan, שָׂטָן] tempted David to hold a census of his people." The king did this, but with very grave consequences; since a severe plague followed, it is said. But if we

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turn to the Books of Samuel we find in 2 Sam. xxiv. that the writer there says that it was IAHWEH that incited David to number his people. Here is a notable sign that the Chronicler was jealous for the character of IAHWEH, and so he declined to state that his people's GOD IAHWEH would cause such an evil; so he substitutes the word "an Adversary" instead of the Name of his beloved GOD. It is not possible for us here to study how the very early, probably Iahwistic, Narrator in Samuel attributed the temptation to IAHWEH. We can only observe the tender spirit and care of the Chronicler; it was a beautiful feature in the author of Chronicles, and it tells also the fact of the tender and devoted spirit of the JUDAISM amid which he lived about 300 B.C.

The contents of Second Chronicles are so startling and peculiar that we shall wisely look at at them in a separate section.

2 Chron. cc. i.-ix. describe Solomon's reign. The very important part of this is not so much the report of the visit of the Queen of Sheba given in ch. ix, but rather the record of the Prayers of Solomon. Let us consider these as stories of his communing with IAHWEH in the Sanctuary. The Charter of "P" had said, as we have seen, that IAHWEH would make Tryst with His people and would tell them all His wishes and counsels; and here we have the king using this great privilege. The Prayer is beautiful, and has often been used as a liturgical form for services dedicatory of churches among ourselves.

After Solomon came Rehoboam and the mutiny of Jeroboam I, who carried ten of the tribes away

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from Rehoboam and formed the new Northern Kingdom of Israel as distinguished from the Southern Kingdom of Judah. From this point onwards appears the strange fact that the Chronicler has never one word to say about that Northern Kingdom. In all the chapters x.-xxxvi. we find only information concerning Judah. It is hardly likely that he excluded the Northern Kingdom for political reasons and through national enmity, seeing that he was trying to record the ways of all the people. Rather was his ground of exclusion his religious belief that the secession of those ten Northern tribes was a very serious offence against IAHWEH. Had not Jeroboam set up horned creatures as idols, and proclaimed, "These are thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee up out of the land of Egypt!" The Chronicler calls Jeroboam's images "hairy creatures, Seirim, or Edomites."

Henceforward our book tells only of the Kings Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Queen Athaliah the usurper, Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon; and finally Josiah and his sons Jehoia-kim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. Then he tells how the Babylonian captivity followed, beginning in 600 to 589. He just begins to speak of the "Return" in which he believed; but the ten chapters of Ezra, which were torn off, contained that story, and we shall describe these presently.

Meantime let us note the outstanding religious features of 2 Chronicles. We have already spoken of the Prayer and Communion with IAHWEH carried on by David and Solomon; but two others of the kings are distinguished by records of

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their Communing with their God, namely, Asa and Jehoshaphat. The former of these two was not altogether after the mind of our Chronicler religiously: he could be very cruel to a prophet, even striking him when the prophet opposed him. Yet not seldom did a prophet come to him and give him faithful counsel and cheering messages from IAHWEH, especially in the excellent words of ch. xv. 1-8. Jehoshaphat is a finer man; his Communing is pictured as full of trust in IAHWEH, and it gives us some beautiful words often used by us now. When the prophet, Jahaziel, said to him, "Ye shall not need to fight," ye people, "set yourselves, stand, and see the salvation of your God," then the king took courage and said, "Hear me, O Judah . . . trust in IAHWEH your God: trust His prophets, so shall ye be established." And then the king appointed singers to chant, "Praise ye IAHWEH, for His mercy endureth forever."

Much credit is given to Hezekiah for good deeds, much more than had been given in 2 Kings; but Chronicles has only one word to say about the noble service done by the prophet Isaiah, although the record in 2 Kings had told of his work.

Josiah's work in introducing Deuteronomy is but slightly recorded. Probably our writer disliked Deuteronomy for its simplicity of Worship-plans. Ezra is the continuation of Chronicles as is clearly seen in the fact that the closing words, of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23 f. are exactly the same as Ezra i. 1-3a. This little fragment professes to describe the Return of the descendants of the old Hebrews from Babylon to Jerusalem. But at

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once suspicion of the correctness of Ezra is aroused by its statement that those who returned from Babylon numbered 42,360! To bring such a host, besides a large convoy of cattle, across from Mesopotamia to Damascus and so to Jerusalem would be a task far beyond any leader even now. Professor C. C. Torrey has shown, in his *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, that altogether this Ezra book surpasses even Chronicles in its inconsistency with possibility, and in its difference from other records such as Nehemiah. It is surprising that the little book never mentions the great Cup-bearer Nehemiah save once very casually in ch. ii. 2; and when he refers to the "Tirshatha," who was Nehemiah, he does not name him. Nor does he give any account of the Roll which that governor or Tirshatha brought from Shushan. Probably Ezra disliked Nehemiah and his "P," that Charter which was so very much less elaborate than the system described in Chronicles, with its large arrangements of Singers, Porters, and Devotees (Nethinim), etc. Three or four features of this supposed person, "Ezra," trouble us a good deal: one is that his diatribes against the people around him are chiefly complaints that they had wedded non-Jewish wives, and he demands that these shall be cast off, an action which we to-day deplore. On the other hand, Nehemiah's trouble is indeed partly also about those wives, but more about the people's conduct, their marketings on the Sabbath; and we must say he would be wise in closing the city to such tradings. Another strange feature of this Ezra is that he has nothing to say of the gathering together of the people to listen to the reading of

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the Charter brought by Nehemiah from Shushan. Nehemiah had told us that he had read it to the gathering, and then all solemnly covenanted to adopt it. Another peculiarity is that while Ezra speaks of a large company of enemies coming from Samaria and many others from other regions with them to prevent the building of the Temple, he does not suggest at all that there was an effort to make Samaria supplant Jerusalem and Zion as the proper place for the IAHWEH Sanctuary. He says that jealous enemies from all the surrounding regions, including Samaria, were afraid that this new colony would become a danger to themselves. Nehemiah had also spoken of the enmity of some peoples, but more slightly. Still another prominent feature in Ezra's character is that he loves to set himself in the front as the chief actor in all that goes on. Nehemiah is more modest: he does speak indeed of his own work, but it is mostly in the form, "Remember me, O my God; and wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for this house."

The Moral and Religious Condition and Spirit of Judaism (*circa* 300 B.C., and shortly afterwards, as manifest in the Books of Chronicles and Ezra):—

Of Morality.—We may say decidedly that the foremost characteristic of these Books is a sincere love of Goodness. Quite true, the Chronicler is a somewhat jealous person, and allows himself to do some things and to neglect some others from a spirit of selfishness; but we are also quite sure that he was thoroughly devoted to the care of the Worship of IAHWEH in the ways in which he counted

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that the Worship ought to be carried on. His severity—or, shall we not say, his cruelty?—towards wives that had been taken from non-Jewish regions is seriously unworthy in our view; but it was exactly what tribal devotion always produced and produces still. The Tribal faith was that the right blood-kin must be kept free from unholy mixture. The self-adulation which we find is too common in all ages. The jealousy towards Nehemiah is unfortunate, we must acknowledge. Yet the man who over-estimates himself thus is, after all, really valuing his own mind and ways as being closely related to the Will of God Himself.

The Chronicler leaves out all notice of the Northern Kingdom on account of his conviction that the people there, led by Jeroboam, had left the love of IAHWEH and His Worship, preferring some other deities. The Chronicler was certainly following what he believed to be right.

He does not hesitate to condemn any persons who dishonour the God IAHWEH. When any king in Judah was reckless and unfaithful he condemns plainly their evil ways.

Some have said he was a forger; he gave out a great many statements as true narrative which he must have known to be contrary to the records in Samuel, Kings, etc. Certainly he did make such statements. But he would believe that those older records were incorrect, and ought to be effaced, and better records substituted.

True, the literary leaders kept his books out of their Collections, their Canon or Law book as they called it. But they came in time to feel that these Chronicles were of great value. They gave

The Chronicler, with Ezra

them a place in their Hebrew Bible, although only at the very end of it.

The Religion of Judaism in those Times.—It is a noble feature in Judaism that it produced such absolute freedom in handling writings, even such as were counted sacred. The Charter had been written and received as IAHWEH's own mind. But in that Roll He had declared that He would always give new commands and guidance; no writing should be counted infallible: it might be changed of God. IAHWEH was a living God, an ever-thinking God; He could never cease giving new ideas to men.

Therefore we are clearly sure that in those days Judaism meant perfect trust towards God. True, they were not Monotheists. Other peoples, and the loved wives that had been chosen out of such other peoples, belonged to other systems of world management. They belonged to other deities; and IAHWEH could have nothing to do with them. We learn from the Parable of the Samaritan and from the sermon to Nicodemus, that "God so loved the *World*." How difficult it was for Jesus to break down the old pitiful faith! But He was coming; and the trustfulness of those early Jews was a stage far on towards His appearing. The strange Books of Chronicles are tokens of that. He lives through them.

CHAPTER IV

THE SAMARITANS

Their Character.—Strangely enough Christians have held rather persistently to the Jewish opinion that these northern “neighbours” were religiously all wrong and deserved to be condemned. Yet the term “Samaritan” has become almost a synonym for “benevolent”; for we establish our Samaritan societies, and think we honour a person by calling him or her “a good Samaritan.” Of course, we obtain our idea of the good Samaritan from the fine parable, without noticing that Jesus did not point to him as “a *good* Samaritan, or benevolent man,” but simply as “a neighbour” who ought to be loved if we are to obey the command to love our neighbour as ourselves. That parable has not been understood, as being what it really is, namely, a lesson on Monotheism, teaching that there is only the one God of all men whose children we all are equally. Our common mistake is easily explained when we examine the cause of the Jews’ dislike of the Samaritans. It comes from Deuteronomy.

The Origin of the Division.—Deuteronomy says plainly that Shechem, or Samaria, was chosen by IAHWEH as the one and only place where an Altar and Offerings ought to be allowed in all the Hebrew land. The object of that Deuteronomic Book, with its stern rejection of the older worship-methods of Abram and of Exod. xx. 24, was to unite thoroughly all the tribes and subdivisions of the people by causing them to come together and

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join solemnly in their most sacred acts of worship and sacrifice at one, and only one, place. Down to Isaiah's time and later each section, each town or district, had its own separate altar; so there were many altars, as Hosea says, and these many altars made many sins. Especially did these separated worships bring about a belief that each people with its separate altar had a separate IAHWEH; therefore the tribes were always on the edge of internal fightings; they could not unite for common national defence. The Deuteronomic men saw this, and they thought out this skilful plan for alliance. Said they, there is only the one IAHWEH; let there be only one place for worshipping Him and communing with Him; there let us all join in sacred fellowships; then all will be inseparably one. Jeroboam I had seen the force of this principle when he set up sanctuaries different from Zion up and down in the north (1 Kings xii. 27), at Dan, Bethel, etc.

So the wiser men of about 700 B.C. wrote Deut. cc. v. onwards, basing their authority for a new rule on the old wish of the people that when in future Divine directions were given they should come, not from the sky in the thunder-storm as at Sinai, but by the friendly words of a man. Then they proceeded to give this additional rule, "Hear, O Israel, Our God IAHWEH is only one IAHWEH: write this on your hearts and hands and homes" (Deut. vi. 4, etc.). The nation felt so glad of this counsel that they took those words and enshrined them as the Greatest Law. Then in ch. xii., twice over, i.e. by the work of two different writers, they set down their rule for having only one method

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for worshipping only one God. It is declared, "Have only one Place of Sacred Meeting in all the land, for all the different sets of people." We read in Deut. xii. 11, 13, 14, "There shall be a place which IAHWEH, your God, shall choose to cause His Name to dwell there: thither ye shall bring . . . your offerings. . . . Take heed that thou offer not . . . in every place that thou seest: but in the place which IAHWEH, thy God, shall choose in one of thy tribes there shalt thou offer." They felt that IAHWEH had advanced His plans; they went now beyond what He had given to Moses as it stood written in Exod. xx. 24. Such is God's way: He is always advancing.

But what place did He ever point out as His choice? No answer can be plainer than is given in Deut. xxvii. 4-7, which we must quote:

"And it shall be that in the day when ye shall cross the Jordan.

"Then thou shalt set up for thee great stones, and plaster them

"IN THE MOUNTAIN EBAL.

"And thou shalt build there an Altar for IAHWEH, thy God,

"And thou shalt offer up on it Burnt Offerings for IAHWEH.

"And thou shalt offer Peace-Offerings, and thou shalt eat there,

"And thou shalt rejoice before IAHWEH, thy God."

That is surely as definite a direction as could be given; and it is confirmed by an appointment for

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a sacred assembly in EBAL, given in ch. xi. 29 f., just before the ordinance of ch. xii., that there must be only one place of Sacrificial Worship. It is well to quote here the present writer's words in his *Old Testament Theology* (Vol. II, p. 483), thus, "Shechem's geographical position is very central: it lies on the backbone of the watershed between Jordan and the Great Sea, and it is nearly in the middle of that backbone's length. It is indeed central." Sir G. A. Smith speaks similarly of its central position, and its visibility from all over the land, in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 119 ff. and 332 ff. Observing the fact of this central position we do not wonder that the Deuteronomists said Shechem should be the one place of Sacrificial Worship. We know, moreover, the Hebrew love for Shechem; it had been the first sanctuary named in all the elder narratives, and was always to the front as most important.

Why, then, was not this spot preserved as the One Great Place of sacrifice? Can we understand that? It was no wonder at all that people in the northern Samaritan regions should feel that their city was to be counted the one great place of sacrificial worship, feasting, and communion with IAHWEH. It should not be regarded as strange if in Nehemiah's time those Northerners felt moved to put forward their claim. But the question arises how King Josiah in 622 B.C. could appropriate the high privilege to Judah and make Jerusalem the one sacred place.

The Choice of Zion.—How, then, did Josiah and his court do this strange thing? An answer comes at once when we remember that the Northern

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Kingdom had been destroyed in Isaiah's days, about 720 B.C., a whole hundred years before JOSIAH. After that it was that the idea had arisen that there must be arranged some real way of uniting all the tribes, wherever they lived, for safety's sake, seeing that the Assyrian hosts were eager to seize all. Probably the leaders thought that by such an arrangement the united Kingdom might be restored and preserved, so Deuteronomy was written *circa* 700 B.C. Writers in Jerusalem would not be likely to suggest that Shechem should be the chosen place. So it is very probable that the Roll containing the original Deuteronomy with its preference for Shechem, was written in the north by dwellers thereabouts about 700 B.C. But poor Samaria and all the north remained in gloom and desolation after their enslavement by Assyria. The Document would be in Scribes' hands at Shechem, and would not be safe; therefore, some one carried away this precious treasure and deposited it secretly for safety in the temple in Jerusalem.

Then in 620 B.C. Josiah's officers were busied in a renovation of the Temple, and, in thorough examination of all its treasures, they discovered the Roll. They brought it to the king. He was amazed at its nature, took counsel what should be done; and the result was the establishment of Zion as the one and only place of sacrifice. Here was no selfish, greedy appropriation. No other place could be used at that date for this one sanctuary. So Zion was elected. Of course, no doubt some few old people of Hebrew stock who were still remaining in the north might dislike and

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resent this appointment of Jerusalem; and no doubt these would try to carry on their very ancient Altar at Shechem, which they knew had been Abraham's place of worship, and a beloved sanctuary of many another of the Fathers.

Then Jerusalem fell by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, and this one and only sanctuary in the south was reduced to the same desolation as had been Shechem's lot. Both places were sitting in gloom. Jealousy could easily be aroused either in the north or in the south. The matter became now rather a political controversy as to which of the two regions should be able to persist and rise again into importance. It is well to note here that the old-fashioned charge of forgery against the priests of Zion, that they had made up the Deuteronomy-Roll as a scheme and trick for favouring their own sanctuary is clearly absurd. The Roll favoured Shechem, and not Zion.

The New Zion.—Such was largely the condition which Nehemiah found when he arrived from Shushan as Persian Governor of Judah. The Book of Nehemiah, in cc. ii. and iv., relates that one Sanballat, probably a provincial Governor at Samaria, with his associates living in various territories—Arabia, Ammon, Ashdod—complained bitterly against Nehemiah's purpose to rebuild his city. And Nehemiah had to go about with a guard, in fear for his life, as the additional record in ch. iv. says. Then ch. vi. lets us see Nehemiah as a genuinely brave man; for when friends wished him to hide, at least for the night-time, in the temple, he answered these, "Then I said, 'Is it a man like me, who is in my place, that is going to

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flee? And who is there like me, that would flee to the temple so as to be safe? I will not come with you!’” This reply points out the real state of the case; the opposer Sanballat and his comrades were simply jealous of Nehemiah as ruler, and they never say a syllable against Jerusalem as a sanctuary. They were thinking of their own interests and dignity and not of the unity of worship.

But they were small-minded men, and we are not surprised to read in a work written in Jerusalem about 130 B.C., the “Book of the Wisdom of Sirach,” often called “Ecclesiasticus,” in its “Song of The Praise of Pious Men,” these two passages:

Ch. 49, “Likewise Nehemiah . . . may his
verse 13. memory be glorified,—

“He raised up again our ruins,
“He restored our desolated places,
“And set up again our gates with
bars and bolts.”

and *Ch. 50,* “Against two peoples my soul is
verse 25 f. disgusted,

“And the third is no people:
“Those who live in the mountains
of Seir, and the Philistines;
“And that silly people who dwell in
Shechem!”

Such was the feeling in Judah about 130 B.C., when Sirach’s son wrote that “Song of Praise.” This dislike and contempt were reciprocated in the Shechem region, for we are told by Luke, in ch. ix. 51 ff, that “JESUS set His face to go to Jerusalem;

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and when He sent messengers . . . who went to a village of the Samaritans to make ready for Him, they did not receive Him because His face was as though He would go to Jerusalem." His disciples were angry and wished heaven would destroy that village. JESUS rebuked them.

The Mind of Jesus toward Samaria.—We may place here already a note of the attitude of JESUS towards these Samaritans. It is described in two very remarkable narratives.

He sat by a well in that region, as John iv. says, and when He asked a Samaritan woman for a mouthful of water for refreshment she answered Him, "How can you ask from me who am a woman of Samaria, for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans?" Then she added, "Our Fathers worshipped in this mountain [EBAL]; and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." Jesus said to her, "Woman, believe Me, the hour is coming when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father. . . . The Father seeketh those to worship Him, who worship Him in spirit and in truth." Then said the woman, "I know that the Anointed One, the Christ cometh: He will tell us all things." The woman returned to her village, and described her singular meeting. She said, "Is not this the Anointed One?" We have quoted that striking story in order to show that those people in the north were expecting some great Person to come who would bring them blessing. The story puts in the woman's lips the Name מָשִׁיחַ, or Mashiach, Anointed One; but in the writings of the Samaritans themselves, in their Sermons and narratives,

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another word is used: they use the word Taheb, תָּהֵב, a participle coming from תָּרַב, "he returned," which is the same as the Hebrew שָׁב, ShaB'H, he returned. They possessed a copy of the Pentateuch and prized it, and there, in Deut. xviii. 15 and 18, stands the wonderful faith and promise that another Prophet like Moses should come to teach all things men need to know. This "Returning Prophet" would be what the woman meant; she thought that this wondrous JESUS must be the Coming Prophet foretold in Deuteronomy xviii.

The second story of JESUS, referring to the Samaritans, is in Luke x. 30-37. This is the great Parable of the so-called "Good Samaritan." That title is a misnomer for the Parable: it should be called "The Parable of the Hated Samaritan, who is our Neighbour." This shows verily the mind of the CHRIST; but it tells more, for it shows how a gulf of religious enmity had grown wide and deep between the two peoples. The Priests and Levites, moreover, had come to be neglectful of humanity, so that the Samaritans were far above them in nobility. JESUS saw and taught that there must be a change. The Son of Man, Who was also Son of the Jews, had come to lead all peoples into Unity and into Monotheism.

The people we hate or neglect are our neighbours; all are God's children. We are to love all. This excursus concerning the Samaritans shows us the need of advance, and thus it is an introduction to the study of the thoughtfulness of the Jewish people concerning Mission Preaching, Sermons at

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Home and Abroad ; giving the LXX ; also Public Justice in the Mishnah ; Popular Wisdom in Proverbs and the like ; and concerning the New Maccabean Kingdom, and an Anointed CHRIST-KING, Who should be IAHWEH Himself. That study shall be our next task. Let a closing sentence point to the singular paradox of history : Jerusalem's Altar is gone these two thousand years well-nigh ; on the Altar at Shechem to this day sacrifice is offered.



SECTION VI

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

As we enter on this view of a perfectly wonderful series of notable writings of the Jews of that century and a half (300–150 B.C.), it is well to realize our aim.

We do not wish simply to give interesting information, although certainly much information of great value concerning those times has been withheld from the public hitherto. The cause of this reticence has been, probably, on one hand, the unfortunate general prejudice against the Jewish people, and a dislike of all their features the nearer the time approached for the Coming of Jesus. On the other hand, there has lurked doctrinally in many students' minds a dream that Jesus had nothing to do with previous life! He received nothing, they say, from it! He dropped on earth as an entirely other-worldly Being. Let us do our utmost to remove these faults and dreams. Evidence is fully at hand that a wish for this desirable removal is at hand; for in the several encyclopaedias—the *Biblicals*, both Black's and Hastings's, the *Brittanica* and the Jewish—large stores of information on the period are now carefully furnished.

Again, we do not think of supplying the very common present-day appetite for romantic narrative. Yet it may be said that romance-writers could easily find a wealth of *motifs*, themes, circumstances, materials for a very library of tales concerning the life that went on in those few

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generations. The period is a treasure-house of events and personalities for the *raconteurs*.

Nor, again, are we seeking to feed those who are wisely hungry simply for history, wishing to know exact records, if possible, of the past. It is certainly a delight to travel along page after page of Mommsen, Grote, Gibbon, and many another historian, and day after day to think of the splendid story of mankind. We love to see mankind and the march of man through the ages. But our present task is another.

We wish to read the Story of the Coming of JESUS, the KING of Men. How did that Soul come, whom we feel to be supreme, a fully manly Soul, One Who was always, and did always, just as we feel we want to do? Here was One whom we feel we must call Divinely right. How, then, did such a Man come about? We are compelled by our very nature to ask how His ancestors thought and acted in the generations preceding Him. We cannot help ourselves in the matter. We cannot form an idea of a Being walking this earth, sharing our experiences, talking with us, and at last suffering in a death of the bitterest sort, Who is not in the truest sense a child of His Fathers, moulded, trained, built up by the human experiences around Him and before Him. If we refuse to examine these experiences to the most intimate point, then we deny to ourselves any fellowship with Him, and so we should dishonour Him to the utmost. But we refuse to do any such thing; we will know Him as we seek to know His fellow-men. And we have a magnificent store of information concerning His Fathers, who lived in our Period, 300-150 B.C.

Let us give attention to any hesitations. If,

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perhaps, there be some who are nervously unwilling to think of Jesus in this way, which our deepest nature demands, let us urge such hesitating persons to remember that we must consider and know at least the society that stood around Him, that listened to Him, that followed Him. Very true it is that most of these were very simple men and women ; but what have they not accomplished ? If we think of the New Testament alone—that singular little sheaf of letters and narratives—to what a remarkable height of ability and of beauty did not these arise ? These persons had lived in uneasy hunger before they saw Him, wanting something, perhaps they knew not at all what. They had hungered for some comfort in distresses, and for some leading in life, and in death also. Then they saw Him, they watched Him ; they started in wonder ; they bowed in reverence ; they took Him as their King. But, more remarkable still, although He never wrote any directions for them that have ever been heard of, they wrote the New Testament, a little series of booklets that have ruled the world, amazed it, captured it. That simple band of persons has given to the world, more and more decisively as the world has come to know it, a new Rule or Method for all spiritual life. Now these few men were in and of Jewry ! They were not in Rome amid the military and governmental powers ; they were not in Greece with its great philosophies ; they were not amid the old civilization of China, nor in the singularly pure atmosphere of Buddha. They were in this small place and people. Why did they become leaders ? Who were they, and whence ? The reasonable man

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always asks such questions, and he must. So our aim is to know how they lived, thought, and spoke. We must know the spiritual story of those men who say that He made them. These men could not drop out of the blue, so to speak ; it was impossible. We are going to watch the human features of the few generations that gave them birth. How, then, were they produced ? What methods did the Great Creator of all men and things use in order to bring this little fellowship of Jesus into earthly life ? Such questioning is our aim.

We shall do well to follow up these meditations with remembrance of what had preceded those one hundred and fifty years, the ages that preceded 300 B.C. In briefest, we can recall how we have seen finest character and noblest work in the little band from HAGGAI to MALACHI, and we have seen how there had followed such an exquisite utterance as came from the soul of the man who wrote Third ISAIAH. Then all these were followed by a very beautiful and natural outcome in the CHARTER, "P." Its kernel in Exod. xxv. 22 has amazed us by its marvellously profound, although so simple, expression of confidence that God would commune with the Jewish people while they meditated on His past care for their fathers in all the ages. And now, a people that could rise so high might well proceed to compose the great literature that we are proceeding to study. Already fine evidence has been before us that the faith of that CHARTER continued strong among all the community ; we have seen this in the little book of HABAKKUK, and also to a considerable measure in the CHRONICLES and in Samaria.

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We are now going to see this people earnestly trying to provide Missionary service—shall we not call it Evangelization?—towards all their fellow-men: those at Home, and those in the Distant Homes of their kin who were colonizing Asia Minor and Egypt, and also, notable to say, towards all mankind. In other words we may announce more definitely that those Jews carried on (i) Home Missionary service by their Sermons in the Synagogues; (ii) Colonial Missions by their dissemination of their Scriptures in the Greek Translations called the SEPTUAGINT. Greek was becoming the *Lingua Franca* in Asia Minor and in Egypt. And finally (iii) Foreign Mission by the booklets called JONAH, RUTH and ESTHER, which follow the faith of the Slave-Singer of Isa. xl., etc. All show us writers and teachers, and also a large section of the people, who were earnestly seeking to tell men that “God so loved the world,” all souls of mankind, Jews and foreigners as well.

The further study and picture of the Religion will be seen in what we may call the Ethical Jewish literature, and that of the two kinds: the popular Ethics as seen in the Wisdom Books; and the more systematic work contained in the Great Second Book of Doctrine. It is also to be seen in the Poetry or Psalmody that arose about the beginning of the second century B.C. The consideration of these fields of Ethics and Song must be delayed for another volume. We can now study only the Missionary or Evangelistic work of the three hundred years, 300 B.C. and onwards.

CHAPTER II

SCENES AND SUFFERINGS, 300 TO 150 B.C.

THE people who produced, by Inspiration and by the labour of their thoughtful men, the Literature that we are to examine lived under the despotic control of the series of Kings of Syria and Egypt ; and they were constantly surrounded and crushed by scenes and treatment that are almost incredible. While they steadily thought and wrote or taught, they were suffering ceaseless persecution, much like what the peoples of Belgium, Flanders, and France had to endure in the recent horrible time of war. We need to realize in some measure those experiences and then we can estimate the character both of those for whom this literature arose and of those men who composed it. Where can we learn about this ?

The Sources of our possible acquaintance with the times are : (1) DANIEL ; (2) the First and Second Books of MACCABEES ; (3) the Second ZECHARIAH (Zech. ix.-xi. and xiii. 7-9) ; (4) the Third ZECHARIAH (Zech. xii., xiii. 1-6, and xiv.) ; also (5) perhaps the most striking of all the pictures, the PSALMS, lv., lxxiv., and lxxix. ; to which (6) must be added that most interesting work, *The Antiquities of Josephus*, Book XII, with his *Wars of the Jews*, Books I and II. We must try to glean the substance of all these sources of information.

The Book of DANIEL shows in its last chapter (ch. xii.) plainly that the author of the book believed himself to be the DANIEL of EZEKIEL's time, say 600 B.C., that he had received his visions then, had

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died, and had risen again from the dead about 200 B.C. to see and to share all the cruel and terrible treatment of his fellow-Jews at the hand of Antiochus IV of Syria. This passage is an invaluable proof of a belief in resurrection like that concerning Samuel, who rose to warn King Saul of his coming destruction. The author writes as one who is living in the time of that frightful King Antiochus, for his description of the sufferings agrees exactly with what all other sources tell us of the king's deeds. The story stops at the death of that king. There followed plenty more that was important to be told, but clearly the writer saw and knew nothing of it. He lived and wrote, we may be sure, in the reign of Antiochus (175 to 164), and no later. He gives three accounts of the wretched persecutions, one in ch. vii. where he describes a vision he had and then also an interpretation of it given to him by a heavenly messenger. Then a second is given in ch. viii., which is a vision of the same cruelties, and an interpretation of the vision. Thirdly, in ch. xi. stands perhaps a more arresting story of the same deeds, for it describes the interference of the Romans to check the king's mad action. The earlier parts of the book picture successive interventions of Divine power to help the people amid persecution by supposed Babylonian and other enemies. Indeed, the whole book is one continuous Sermon on "The Certainty that God will enter into and will share all the sufferings that may come upon His people." It is one grand sermon on that theme, winding up always with the application that Antiochus will not succeed in his purposes by his persecutions. And indeed he did not.

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The First Book of Maccabees begins with a rapid account of the many evils done to the Jews ever since Alexander began his attacks on Persia. Then comes the story of the brave resistance to the Syrian cruelties by Mattathias, the aged priest, father of the five noble men Judas, Simon, Jonathan, John, and Eleazar. Then is described the flight of these and a host of companion-Jews to mountain-caves. The death of the old father is described, and then the story of the great work of Judas and Jonathan is told and the elevation of Simon to the hereditary Princehood and High Priesthood. The Syrian King's campaigns against Judas are pictured, the plunderings and desecration of the Temple, the failures of the Syrian armies, the efforts of Antiochus to retrieve his fortunes by war in Persia, and his death there. The Restoration of the Temple and its altars from the sacrilegious dishonour done by Antiochus, and the final establishment of the Kingdom under the Maccabeans as princes are recorded with great gladness.

All this is repeated in the Second Book of Maccabees, but it becomes there a black tale of horror, as the brutalities of Antiochus and his men are described. The object of the Syrian monster was to compel all Jews to abjure their own faith and worship, and to accept Greek religion, and language, and customs. Here are extracts from these two Maccabean books bewailing the miseries of Judaism :

From I Macc. i., 20 ff. ; " Antiochus had ruined Egypt, and he returned in 143, i.e. of the Seleucid Era, or 170 B.C., and marched against Jerusalem with great forces. In his insolence he entered the

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most sacred place, and carried away its golden altar. . . .

- (1) "Then fell great mourning upon all Israel
and its homes !
" All our leaders, our best men wailed !
" Maidens and youths were powerless,
" The beauty of women faded away.
- (2) " Every bridegroom lifted up a lament,
" The bridal-chamber was filled with moan-
ings.
" The earth trembled for its people,
" The whole house of Jacob was covered in
shame."
- (3) " The sanctuary was desolate like a wilderness,
" Our festivals became times of mourning.
" Our Sabbaths were shamed : our honour
was despised !
" So great as once was their glory, so now was
their misery."
- (4) " Our temple was like the house of a dis-
graced man,
" The beautiful sacred vessels were carried
off as booty.
" Our children were murdered on the streets.
" Our young men by the enemy's sword."

Chapter vii. has the notable passage :

" A falsehearted priest became emissary of Syria, and he said, ' We swear that we shall do you no hurt : we will aim to do kindness to you and your friends.' Then the people trusted that base man ;

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but he seized sixty of them and slew them on one day, according as it stands written :

‘ They flung out the bodies of Thy saints, and shed their blood

‘ All round Jerusalem. And no one was there to bury them ! ’ ”

These last words are a quotation from Psalm lxxix. 2, 3, which chants :

“ O IAHWEH, the nations have come into Thy sacred inheritance,

“ The Place of Worship have they defiled.

“ They have laid Jerusalem in heaps.

“ The dead bodies of Thy saints they have given to be meat to the fowls of heaven,

“ The flesh of Thy servants, to the beasts of the earth ! ”

This Psalm evidently was written amid all the evils of that terrible time.

The two little books dating from this period, which we call Second and Third Zechariah, give us additional light, and especially the former of the two tells of this time. Duhm has shown in his *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, and the translation of it by the present writer, that the former, the second Zechariah, was composed about the same time as Daniel—say 160 B.C. The High Priest at the time, Alcimus, or Eliakim, was Greek-minded ; he treated the “ Saints ” frightfully. The three “ bad shepherds,” Jason, Menelaus, and Lysimachus, sold the Jews to the Syrians for personal gains. The Maccabees brought back to Jerusalem, says Zechariah, with exultation colonies of Jews who had been

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isolated and oppressed. Much of the writing is not so "cryptic," i.e. not so deliberately secretive as Daniel is; yet it is mysterious enough. The writer hopes for an "Anointed One" to come and rule over the restored Kingdom.

The Third Zechariah is a prose prophecy of slightly later date than the Second Zechariah. The mutilated verse (xii. 10) which speaks of "one who is pierced" refers probably to the assassination of the Priest-Prince Simon in 135 B.C.

The whole tone of both booklets reveals on the one hand the sad sufferings of the people, and on the other hand their brave endurance and faith in final conquest.

The "Antiquities" and the *Wars of Josephus* are fascinating, as is all that he writes; although he is not always reliable. The substance of his narratives is the same story that we have seen above, but with much detail. He is certainly well worth reading again and again.

But now we reach the finest of all the pictures of those days: Chants which are at once noble poems and heart-rending cries of terror and of pain. They are Psalms lv., lxxiv., and lxxix. We must quote these largely.

(i) Psalm lxxiv., laments thus:

"Why, O IAHWEH, hast Thou spurned us so long?

"Must Thy rage burn up all the flock of Thine own pastures?

"Remember Thy covenanted people, that Thou boughtest long ago!

"Thou didst redeem them as Thine own tribe and possession.

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- “ Mount Zion here in which Thou hast dwelt.
“ O lift up Thy strokes at these weary burdens,
“ At all this hurt that the enemies do amid Thy
sacred things !
“ These foes roar in the very central halls in Thy
Trusting Places !
“ They have hoisted their own flags as signals.
“ They have smashed the upper entrances
“ That woody maze with their hatchets have they
destroyed.
“ And now, ah me, at one blow all the carvings
“ With axes and hammers they are going to
batter !
“ They have kept flinging fire into Thy Sacred
Place !
“ Down to the ground they have torn the House
where Thy Name dwelt.
“ They have shouted out their purpose ‘ Let us
ruin all ! ’
“ Our sacred emblems are gone from our sight.
“ No one of us knows how long.
“ O IAHWEH, how long is this foe to mock
us ?
“ Is the enemy to despise Thy Character for
ever ? ”

This is a lament over the ruin of the City and the Temple of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV when he was returning from Egypt after having been compelled by the Roman Commander to cease his war against Egypt.

Psalm lxxix. is full of even more pitiful lament and wailing. We have already spoken of this as

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having been quoted by the writer of 1 Macc. vii. 16 f. We translate vv. 1-5 thus :

- “ O IAHWEH, the foreigners have invaded Thy possession ;
“ They have defiled Thy sacred Temple ;
“ They have turned Jerusalem into a heap of stones.
“ They have given the corpses of Thy servants
“ For food to the fowls of the heavens,
“ Yea, the flesh of Thy Saints to the wild beasts of the field,
“ They have shed the blood of these like water,
“ These lie dead round about Jerusalem, and there is no one to bury them.
“ We have become a mockery for our neighbours,
“ We are a laughter and scorn for all around us.
“ How long, O IAHWEH, Art Thou going to rage forever ? ”

What awful days, aye years, those were ! And yet it was during these years that those Jews were eagerly busy in missionary activities at home and abroad, among emigrated fellow-Jews, and also among foreigners.

Psalm lv. is the cry of a Jew of the same time with those two chants just considered. The singer has been betrayed by a former friend who has now turned traitor to Judaism, and is busy helping Syria. The cry grows ever fiercer and sadder, until we reach v. 21. Then enters an entirely different tone. V. 22 is certainly not the continuation of v. 21 ; it has been rather a marginal note

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penned by some reader who tried to comfort the suffering singer. The marginal note is :

“ Cast thy burden on IAHWEH : He will sustain thee :

“ He will never suffer righteous souls to be utterly ruined.”

Then, later on, some copying scribe did not see the nature of the note, but supposed it to be a real part of the song ; so he copied it into the Chant as if it belonged there. We may be glad that he made this mistake, for so we have had preserved one of the most precious utterances in all the Bible writings.

Who were the Overlords ruling the Jews in this Period ?—We must set Alexander of Macedon as first and worst. He thought to bend all men under his own and only sovereignty. He meant to compel all to be Greek in religion, in speech, in all ways of life. His great teacher Aristotle, and Plato, the still greater teacher of that teacher, were both of them really philosophical monotheists, and no doubt Alexander dreamed that his determination to create a political unity among all mankind was the reasonable and necessary conclusion from the monotheistic philosophy of those masters. But his project to accomplish this unity by military force was madness ; and it was sure to fail. This madness and its methods in the Semitic regions fell as a pestilence upon the Jews ; and the evidence of this is in our hands, as we have sought to show.

We read how HABAKKUK felt the cruelties

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Alexander dealt out to the peoples. The prophet saw also the folly of the invader's plan. Shall we say that HABAKKUK foresaw and predicted Alexander's ruin, or do we prefer to think that the "Woes" on the Macedonian, declared in the little book, were written largely in consequence of what had already actually taken place? In either case, the Oracles are an exact description of Alexander's fate. The booklet tells his story; it tells also how sadly the people were suffering in HABAKKUK's day.

Alexander failed; that is a thorough confirmation of the faith that tyrannous rulers shall always fail. We turn to see the consequences. His ten or a dozen generals seized the far-flung territories and nations which he had tried to grip, reaching from the Danube to the Indus. We have nothing to do with any of these generals save two, who quarrelled through a century for the possession of Palestine and the Jewish home. These were the Seleucids, who mastered Syria after much fighting, and the Ptolemys who founded a famous Kingdom in Egypt. This latter dynasty was by far the best among the rulers, kindest and most thoughtful; at least such were many of the kings.

It was these Egyptian monarchs who built the great city of Alexandria. They, and not the cruel Macedonian invader, were the patrons of science, literature, and art, for they brought the exquisite painter Apelles from Greece to live and work beside them. Also they delighted in exact science, for Euclid, the friend of our schooldays, thought out and composed his famous propositions such as the

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Pons Asinorum and his twelve Books of Geometry under the patronage of the first two Ptolemys. These two, Ptolemy I, called Soter, and Ptolemy II, called Philadelphus, established that splendid library which taught and blessed all the world for nearly a thousand years, until the fanatic Moslems burned it. They founded also the Museum of Alexandria, which, as wise men tell us, "became the resort and abode of all the most distinguished men of letters of the day." Many scholars adorned the reigns of these two kings, many poets, philosophers, astronomers. Many of these scholars and artists were Greeks, and that language was the speech of the court and the city. Commerce grew rapidly, sending its shiploads of manufactures and produce to all the ends of the lands, and receiving the like from all. Many Jews migrated to Egypt to take part in all these activities; and for them, at least in part, was translated book by book the Hebrew precious Scriptures of the Old Testament, as we are soon to see. The following monarchs of the dynasty engaged foolishly and greatly in wars, chiefly against the sister State of Syria, and for possession of the territories between them, especially for Palestine. They fought, but they could also make friendships and intermarriages. They were too well off; and like pampered children they strove together. The consequence was necessarily that the Jews were directly in the line of march of these fighters, and suffered in their farming tasks and in the business of their towns; for Judæa and its Jewish neighbours were trodden, robbed, and decimated by the soldiery. Yet these Ptolemys were better far than the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.

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The Seleucids had been at first the kings of the Babylonian regions; but the first of them, Seleucus I, saw the commercial advantages of the Syrian sea-coast, and by 312 B.C. he established as his capital there the city of Antioch, which was another work of these followers of Alexander and not of that invader himself.

The capital was so called in honour of the King's father, who was a Macedonian. Seleucus and his descendant rulers, some called Seleucus and some Antiochus, were all men of war and were constantly trying to grasp Palestine and also Egypt beyond it. That the first Seleucus was a man of great importance in the eyes of the times is shown by the fact that the date of the beginning of his reign was made the point to reckon eastern dates from. Men spoke of the Seleucid Era, of which the Year 1 was the same as 312 B.C. All the reckonings of time in, say, the Books of the Maccabees, are given according to this Seleucid era. The events of this reign and of the reignings of the successors throughout the century 300 to 200 B.C. were almost exclusively campaigns of war. In the end Antiochus III, who became called "The Great," for no very important reason, was ambitious enough to dream himself able to contest with the Romans for world supremacy. Singularly enough his chief adviser in this effort was the truly great but defeated Hannibal, late commander of the armies of his native land of Carthage, now an exile fleeing from the conquering Romans. Carthage was a Phœnician or Syrian colony: its name "Carthage" was Semitic, and was really QIRIATH HADASH, קִרְיַת הָדָשׁ, which means "NEW CITY"; so naturally the exile fled

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to Antiochus for shelter. And quite as naturally he urged the Syrian King to resist the Romans. But those crafty and powerful Romans put a speedy veto on these designs of their old enemy ; poor Hannibal fled on farther, to another more distant friend, the ruler of Bithynia, far off in the north on the coast of the Black Sea. There he died ere long by his own hand. This was the introduction of the Roman meddlings in the east that lasted through many long years and even centuries.

It was not this Antiochus III, "The Great" so called, who began and pressed forward the cruel treatment of Judæa : it was his son Antiochus IV, called Epiphanes, the Illustrious. He determined to make all the world Greek in language, religion and customs ; and therefore carried on the strange and pitiful movements that earned first for him the title Epiphanes, the Illustrious, but which was ere long changed into the parody-title "Epimanes," the Madman. He determined he would do what Alexander had failed to do, for he would compel all the world to be Greek. So would he be Illustrious ; but his tyranny again was the ruin of his ambition, and he was the Madman. He thought to show the Jews the delights of Greek life ; and so he set up in Jerusalem a Greek circus, wherein he himself, unclothed, performed in the displays of Athletics and in the Drama, all of which he counted the finest possible human performances. When the Jewish people refused these would-be blandishments, he used force. He destroyed all the Rolls of the Sacred Books that he could seize : he forbade all observance of customs

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such as circumcision that were held most sacred ; he set up an image of Zeus upon the sacred Casket in the Temple, and commanded that sacrifices be made before it ; and up and down in the land he set up altars to Greek Deities and ordered that all men should worship at these under pain of death for refusal. Verily he was a madman *par excellence*, in spite of the plea made for him of recent years by a good German professor that “ if the Jews had only reasonably observed his wishes all might have gone well, all men could have been united in one great Family. Antiochus Epiphanes would have been deservedly the Macedonian Alexander brought back to life again.” Notable indeed it is that the Jews learned to hate the name “ Macedonian.” The horrible HAMAN and his murderous supporters, described in the Book of Esther, are there called Macedonians, in the Greek Version.

But the tyranny failed again. Out in the little town of Modein, standing between Jerusalem and Joppa, was the ancestral home of the first and most honoured of those Courses of Aaronite Priests which the Chronicler in 1 Chron. xxiv. ff., describes as we have seen. This was the Course of JOIARIB, and it had as its Head an aged priest named Mattathias. He was next to the High Priest ; in dignity, the *doyen* of the Sacerdotal system. When, then, the officer of Antiochus came down to Modein to command obedience to the new Greek sacrificial rules, old Mattathias in holy passion struck that officer to death. That was the tocsin of revolution. The old priest and his sons and their comrades fled away to mountain caves. The venerable patriot soon passed away. But his son Judas gathered

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speedily a host of fellow Jews, and led them for years through many defeats and many victories, until at length Judaism conquered. Judas "hammered" (Hebrew, "nakab," נָכַב), the Syrians to utter submission to his demands, and hence he and his comrades were called "Maccabees," i.e. "Hammerers," מַכַּבִּי.

Judas at once cleansed the beloved Temple from the Syrian dishonours, and restored the sacred Worship. The Day of Restoration is commemorated to this day by the Festival of Lights (Hanukkah, חֲנֻכָּה or Dedication) at Christmas time every year. Judas fell after a few years of most skilful leadership; so did his devoted and skilful brother Jonathan, both falling in battle or by treachery. In 143 B.C. their brother Simon succeeded; and two years later a great and solemn convocation of the people declared that Simon and his heirs should be Rulers of the State and High Priests for ever. Thus was the Kingdom set up again which Saul and David had established in about 1000 B.C., and which had been destroyed by Babylon in 599 B.C. A few years later, after the happy Princedom of John Hyrcanus; his son the Prince Aristobulus placed a crown upon his own head and took to himself the title and dignity of King. The fortunes of the Kingdom and how the Romans ruined it, we shall see in a later volume. We have now watched the story enough to understand the sufferings of the people during the centuries 300 onward, and the remarkable devotion and activity of those suffering Jews amid the terrors of it all. They did in such conditions a vast service

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for the world, chiefly in the singularly noble spiritual advances they made, and in the mass of literary production wherein we can see what they did. We turn now to look at that work.

CHAPTER III

MISSION AT HOME BY SYNAGOGUE-SERMONS, THE TARGUMS

The Rise of the Preaching, Sermons, and Meditations.—The Book of Deuteronomy was adopted as a New Constitution by King JOSIAH and his people in 620 B.C. It emphasized strongly the need of education of both elder persons and children, of kings as well as citizens. The record of this stands in Deut. vi. 1-4 and in ch. xviii. 15-20. The people were directed, and they accepted the direction, to talk together of IAHWEH's Words when they sat in their homes and when they went about on their streets. The King was to keep a copy of the Words beside him, and to read therein daily, that he might learn and continue to reverence IAHWEH.

The earliest description we have of such meditations is seen in the Book of MALACHI in his Seventh Oracle, ch. iii. 16 ff.¹ The Prophet says: "Some men have been congratulating those who are insolent against God, and have been complaining that those who have been successful are the people who have always practised evil ways: such men have put God to the test, and they have come off safely. But amid such pitiful experiences the worshippers of IAHWEH have held their conferences together, each one with his neighbour. And IAHWEH has listened to them:

¹ See Duhm's *Book of the Twelve*, and Duff's Translation of that work.

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GOD has heard. And a record of remembrance has been prepared concerning these who worship IAHWEH and who meditate on His Character. So IAHWEH, the Ruler of all Powers, has said 'Such men shall belong to Me. They are to be My special possession on the Day that I am bringing. Then will I be compassionate on them, as a father would be towards his son that was devoted to him.' " Such was the first picture of Communion with GOD. So Sermons began.

Next we hear from Nehemiah, ch. viii. 1-15, the story that when he brought from Persia his "P" Charter, the people in Jerusalem gathered together to hear this Charter and the explanation of it. A number of priests and others "read and gave the sense," or, in other words, they preached, and the people listened to Sermons of Exposition.

Another passage, EZRA iv. 7, makes clear how the peculiar name of the Sermons arose. It is given concerning a letter supposed to have been sent by the enemies of the Jews to the Persian Emperor to complain of these Jews. We are told that this letter was written in the Aramaic language (ARAMITH, אַרְמִית), but the Aramaic was explained for the convenience of the Emperor. And the word used for "explained" is "targumed" ("methurgam," מֵתֻרְגָּם). So we see whence came the strange term for the Jewish Sermons: they were called "TARGUMS." It was a misfortune, for the uncouth word has probably frightened many from study of them. But we use the word quite commonly if we travel in the East; for we call a guide a "DRAGOMAN," i.e. a Targum-man. It is the Semitic word

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in constant use for an Interpreter or Guide. So we are now to study something of the Interpretations or Expository Sermons, the Targums, that were given in the Synagogues in all those years, 300 B.C. onwards. And let us note that our King JESUS listened to those Sermons, and He preached such Himself constantly in the Synagogues, as we read especially in Luke iv. 15-32, and often throughout the Gospels.

The Sermons for the Jews of that time in Palestine had to be in the Aramaic or Syriac language, as already suggested by the letter mentioned in Ezra iv.; for all the people, higher and lower, spoke that speech. It had come into use from Nehemiah's day onward, because the Aramaeans or Syrians in North Palestine were more commercial than the Southerners were; and the change of speech came about slowly and naturally. Much of the Book of EZRA so called was written in Aramaic, and also much of the Book of Daniel. Then by the time of JESUS, Aramaic was the general tongue, as we know from quotations of His words in many passages, especially those words on the Cross: "Eli, Eli, lama sabhachtani?" which is Aramaic. Accordingly, therefore, our present copies of the Sermons are in Aramaic. They have been translated into English by the fine care and goodness of the Rev. J. W. Etheridge, M.A., of St. Austell, in Cornwall, 1862.¹

The Aramaic form of the Sermons can be seen in the English Polyglot Bible, which was prepared by the accomplished scholar, Dr. Walton, of Cambridge, one of the members of the Westminster

¹ Longmans, London.

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Assembly, who prepared the Confession of Faith in Cromwell's time. Walton gives always in his great Polyglot each version: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, etc; and in a parallel column beside each version he sets a translation in Latin, so that it becomes more easy to read the originals. But the most famous edition of the Sermons is given in the so-called Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg of 1525, wherein the Hebrew and the Aramaic are set side by side. In recent years Professor de Lagarde of Göttingen, in his labour to restore the original Septuagint, has prepared a critical edition of the "Sermons on the Prophets and the Writings," a handy book which can easily be obtained.

The best general account of these discourses will be found by readers of German in the massive and rich volumes of the late Professor Emil Schürer on *The History of New Testament Times*. But before him there had worked an earlier giant in such work, a master in all studies concerning Judaism, namely Yom-Tobh Lippmann (1794-1886), commonly known as Leopold Zunz. He really founded the scientific study of his Jewish People's History: his greatest work is his *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden* (*The Worship-Sermons of the Jews*). Zunz shows how the necessity arose for translations of the Hebrew Books into Aramaic and for paraphrastic explanations of these. Hence came the Targums.

Naturally there were a good many differing forms of these Sermons, just as there were many Synagogues in the different towns up and down the land. The Interpretations are all characterized by perfect freedom in altering the original scriptural

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text. Some people cry out still that we need to observe the infallibility and unchangeableness of the Scriptures, but they have never seen these Sermons, and so have no idea of this absolute freedom which the real owners of the Bible practised in the early days of strict devotion to the sacredness of the Bible.

Such was the freedom of practice and alteration on the part of those Jews who would have laid down their all and their lives to protect the treasure. But a time came when leaders among the Jewish Elders fancied that the Septuagint Greek translation was being used by Christians as a source of arguments in favour of their new teaching, so these Elders employed a singular man, by name Aquila, to construct a thoroughly literal Greek version to counteract this supposed evil effect of the Septuagint. This took place, of course, fairly well on in Christian times. When those Elders felt this danger coming from the Greek Version, they also caused to be constructed a literal version of the Aramaic Sermons. To this the name "Aquila" was given, but it became mis-written in the form "ONKELOS." This Onkelos set of Sermons is now what the more rigid Jews employ: nevertheless we are going to use it to show by extracts from it what large—singularly large—freedom even this orthodox translator used with his original Hebrew texts. There is indeed no very great difference between ONKELOS and the other older sets of Sermons; but it is well to use ONKELOS as our first source of illustration, because it is, if possible, more cautious in its alterations and more orderly.

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Illustrations of the Nature of the Sermons.—

It is not necessary to give detailed accounts of the Sermons, for they are in general simply the contents of the Hebrew Books given in the changed language. We shall therefore do best by classifying the various sorts of alterations made even by ONKELOS.

Alterations of the Teachings of the Hebrew Original concerning the Name and the Nature of God. We discover at once much alteration in this chief Doctrinal Teaching and Faith. It is well known that in the first chapter of Genesis and down to ch. ii. 4a, the Hebrew always uses the plural name ELOHIM (GODS, אֱלֹהִים) for GOD. So verse 1 in ch. i. says: "In the beginning ELOHIM created the heavens and the earth." And on analysis of the whole of Genesis and then far on in the following Books until we reach Kings, we find passages that follow this "P" plan. But in Gen. ch. ii. 4b and onward in the Hebrew a different name is used for GOD: He is called "IAHWEH" (יְהוָה). Unfortunately our English Bible puts in place of "IAHWEH" the word "LORD." And this use, in English, of the word "GOD" sometimes and "LORD" at other times, goes on in chapter after chapter through all the Pentateuch, etc., throughout to Kings. It is this fact that makes it imperative to decide that at least two different persons wrote the books. There were clearly at least two entirely different original Documents employed in preparing these Narrative Bible Books as we have them. Evidently Onkelos saw this, and he saw also that this difference would

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produce among the readers surprise and uncertainty : they would begin to think that perhaps Moses did not write the books. In fact they did begin to think so, and there were textual students then, about A.D. 100, "critics," if we will, who analysed Genesis, etc. The Sermon-writer called Onkelos felt that he must interfere with this : he must intercept such criticism and if possible stop it.

So he took a great liberty, an amazing doctrinal freedom : he struck out from Gen. ch. i. the name "ELOHIM" in every case. He inserted instead of it the other name "IAHWEH" in every case. So in his final Book of Aramaic Sermons there was only one name IAHWEH used for GOD in all of these Sermons on the Old Testament. One almost refuses to believe this story, but such are the facts. The Aramaic Sermons show this.

This practice had two noteworthy results : first, it confirmed the belief taught by the Charter "P" that new teachings would constantly be given from GOD, and no old opinions or teachings must be allowed to prevent this freedom : here was certainly a great step in the advance towards the teaching of JESUS. He taught, we know, that the older methods, e.g. the law of the Sabbath, were *given for men, and not men for these ways and methods.*

The other result was that men learned entirely new ideas concerning the nature of GOD. They were moving forward from the faith that there were more Gods than one among the ELOHIM. We note by the way that that word is the plural of ELOAH, the same word that Islam has in the ILAH. The elder writer of Gen. i. etc., had taught

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by his story of creation, as given in Genesis, that there were many Deities ; but now that faith was to be swept away by Onkelos. The writer or preacher in the Sermons on Genesis teaches that there is only one God for the Jews, namely, He whose Name is IAHWEH. It was assuredly a great doctrinal advance to take the liberty of altering the Scripture in order that this should be taught and believed.

It is important to note here that the previous kinds of Sermons, which are commonly called the Palestinian and the Jerusalem Targums, had taken this same course of altering the Divine Name given in Gen. i., etc., from ELOHIM to IAHWEH. The Onkelos edition of the Sermons was prepared after Christianity had begun and was growing ; but the previous editions, Palestinian and Jerusalemic, had been prepared early in the period we are discussing, 300 to 150 B.C. This remarkable alteration and advance in doctrine began soon after Alexander's death amid what we have called "The Bloom of Judaism." It was one feature in their Home Missionary activity. Then the Onkelos writer of, say, 150 A.D., copied it from those men.

Another doctrinal advance of the Preachers concerning God's Nature is very interesting, and is related to much of the ideas of the New Testament. We find often that when a Divine action is to be described, there is not a statement that "IAHWEH did so and so" but that "The MEMRA of IAHWEH did it," or that "IAHWEH did it by His MEMRA." So in Gen. iii. 8 stand the words, "They heard the Voice of the MEMRA of the GOD IAHWEH walking in the garden" ; and the man says, "I heard the

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Voice of Thy MEMRA in the garden." To Noah the rainbow was given to be "a sign between the MEMRA and all things"; and to Abram was given the rite of circumcision to be "a sign and a covenant between the MEMRA and this man Abram and his sons." This term MEMRA is what the grammarians call a participial, or a noun, meaning an "actor," and it is derived from the verb AMAR **אמר**, "he spoke"; so the MEMRA means "the instrument of speech." We read in the Palestinian Sermon on Creation in Gen. i. 27 that "The MEMRA of IAHWEH shaped man in His own likeness," or, in other words, "The WORD of IAHWEH made man in His image"; and at once we come to understand how the Gospel of JOHN i. 1 ff. says, "In the beginning was the WORD, and the WORD was with GOD, and the WORD was GOD. . . . All things were made by Him." The author of "John" had listened to the Sermons and had heard of the Memra, so he simply quotes them when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, the Memra"; so a difficult passage in that Gospel is made simple, when we know those Sermons.

The fancy that the evangelist John had studied Plato, and was using the Greek philosopher's expression and ideas, is entirely unnecessary. Some one may say perhaps that the Sermon Preacher learned from Plato to use the idea of "The Word" or Memra; but the readers of the Old Testament know that in 750 B.C., three hundred years before Plato lived, the first Hebrew writing Prophet AMOS used the idea "The Word of IAHWEH," and his successors, in prophesying, did the same throughout the ages. We might truly say that the Greek

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philosophers and poets, especially for example Æschylus, learned very much of their high thinking from their Hebrew forerunners.

We may make a further observation: quite probably the early Christian thinkers and writers who gave the first impetus to the Idea and the Doctrine of The Trinity, were led to this by the apparent difference of Persons occurring in these Sermons as suggested by the various Names of God, such as ELOHIM, IAHWEH, MEMRA, and RUACH (i.e. GODS, HE WHO WILL GIVE LIFE, WORD, SPIRIT, אֱלֹהִים, יְהוָה, מְמַרָא, רוּחַ).

We move on to consider alterations and advances made by the Preachers in the Doctrine and Estimate of Righteousness.

Let us look at the Sermons concerning The Ten Commandments. And here it is notable that where the older "Palestinian" Sermons remained in doctrine much like the form given by the original Hebrew, on the other hand as time went forward and the Onkelos Sermons were preached, a considerable moral advance had been reached. On examining the Palestinian Sermon, concerning Exod. xx., we read thus:

"The WORD of IAHWEH spake all the excellency of these things, saying, 'The First Word as it came forth from the mouth of the Devoted One, whose Name be Blessed, was like storms and lightnings and flames of fire, with a burning light on His right hand and on His left. It winged its way through the air of the heavens and it was made manifest unto the camp of Israel, and returned; and it was graven on the Tables of the Covenant that were given by the hand of MOSHEH, and that were turned

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in these from side to side. Then He called and said :

“ ‘ Sons of Israel, My People, I am IAHWEH your God, who brought you out free from the land of Egypt, from the house of the bondage of slaves.’ The second Word which came forth from the mouth of the Devoted One, whose Name be blessed, was like storms and lightnings and flames of fire. A burning light was on His left. . . . Then called He and said, ‘ O, House of Israel My People, Thou shalt have no other God beside Me. You shall not make to yourselves any image or figure. . . . You shall not bow down to them or worship before them. For I IAHWEH your God am a jealous God and an avenger, punishing with vengeance, recording the guilt of wicked fathers upon rebellious children unto the third and fourth generation of them who hate Me, but keeping mercy and goodness for thousands of generations of the righteous who love Me and keep My commandments and My Laws.’ ”

This form is almost exactly the same as we read in Exod. xx. and Deut. v.

Such are the words of the Palestinian Sermon. But the later Onkelos Form alters this remarkably, for after the words, “ I am a jealous God,” you read, “ visiting the sins of the fathers upon the rebellious children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me, *while the children continue to sin after the way of their fathers.*”

Clearly then Onkelos refused to think of punishing a child for his father's sin, if the child had abjured the wrong that his father had done. In this

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advance Onkelos was contradicting the opinion of his forerunners, the Hebrew Bible and the Palestinian Preachers. So a higher and finer righteousness was emerging: such was the progress of Judaism. It is of interest, as we pass, to see also the rhetorical ways of the Preachers in the extract we have taken from the Palestinian Sermon.

But let us look at another and more narrative expression of the same new faith in tenderness and forgiving grace in the mind of IAHWEH, just as we have seen this in the new Decalogue. We turn to the Sermon on Abram's plea for Sodom and Gomorrah in the sixth chapter of Genesis. IAHWEH is described as telling the patriarch, "The cry of Sodom and Amorah is great, and the sin of them is very mighty. I will now see and will judge. . . . I will deal thoroughly with them, unless they convert; but if they convert, I will not punish." Surely we may say that here is a classical case of the rise of a new ethical faith and doctrine: it is the early emergence of the Way of JESUS. Further illustrations of this advance are abundant, but we need not multiply mention of them.

At the same time it is necessary to point out that there was arising in Judaism, or there was deepening there, a love for ecclesiastical formalism. The Charter "P" was, one might say, almost worshipped as a fetish. A quotation will show this. The story of Abram's emigration from Babylon in Gen. xii. has an almost amusing enlargement; thus we read, at v. 5, "Abram took Sara his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all the possessions which they possessed and the souls which they had made subject to the *Mosaic Doctrine and Torah* in Charan

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and went forth." The writer thinks of the Mosaic Torah or Doctrine-Book as given long before Abram. Indeed a still more striking illustration occurs in the Sermon on Gen. ii. Written in the Palestinian Sermons are these words concerning the Garden of EDEN, Gen. ii. 15: "The GOD IAHWEH took the man from the mountain of Worship, where he had been created, and made him dwell in the Garden of EDEN, to do service in the *Mosaic Torah* and to *keep His commandments*." Many others of the earlier Preachers said the same things about man's service in EDEN: it was Torah service! But the later Onkelos Sermon omits that incredible anachronism at least concerning Adam and Eve in Eden.

Let us record a finer touch that is seen in the Sermon on Deut. ch. vi., where the Sacred Word "Hear O Israel" is set down as the first and greatest part of the Mosaic Doctrine. Our Hebrew Bible says, "These words, which I, even I, am directing thee to-day, are to be on thy mind: and thou art to *bite* them into thy sons and thou shalt let thy speech concern the study of these words." But here all the Sermons of every sort leave out the term "bite," and they say instead, "Thou shalt unfold them (says Palestine) to thy children," or (in Onkelos) "thou shalt deliver them to thy children." A more tender frame of mind was arising: such was the History of Judaism as seen in these Synagogal Sermons.

Among these few illustrations of the advance in Doctrine and the readiness to add such new statements to the sacred writings, it is very important to observe that the Preachers were earnestly bent on

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teaching a new and decided faith in Immortality. Here are two illustrations found in the very beginning of the Palestinian Sermons. First, in Gen. iii. 19, our ordinary Hebrew and English versions say, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return"; but the Sermon says in addition to these words, "From dust it is that thou art to arise, to render judgment and reckoning for all that thou hast done, in the day of the great judgment."

The second quotation we take from the story of Cain and Abel. It is well known that ch. iv. 8 has been injured in the long course of time: something has been dropped out from the verse, for we read in our English, as also in the original Hebrew, "Cain said to Abel his brother. And Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him." Of course we ask, what was it that Cain said to Abel? and how did the awful murder come to pass? But when we turn to the Palestine Sermon we read as follows: "Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Come and let us two go forth into the field.' And when they two had gone forth into the field, Cain said to Abel, 'I perceive that the world was created in goodness, but it is not governed according to the fruit of good works; for there is respect to persons in judgment; therefore it is that thy offering was accepted, and mine was not accepted with good will.' But Abel denied these opinions. Then Cain said, 'There is neither judgment nor Judge nor another world.' Abel answered, 'There is a judgment and there is a Judge; *and there is another world, and a good reward given to the righteous and vengeance taken of the wicked.*' And because of these words they had contention upon the face of

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the field, and Cain rose against Abel his brother and killed him." Now possibly this story of the contention about this subject of Immortality was not what actually stood in the original Hebrew ; but two things are clear : one that the Preacher noticed that something was missing and he tried to fill up the blank ; and furthermore, this Preacher did his utmost to teach and urge upon his hearers that there is a Hereafter. Many other most interesting illustrations could be given of this same belief on the Preacher's part ; but enough has been said. To conclude, we observe how eagerly they worked by the Synagoga ministrations in Sermons to lift the people to ever higher moral character and larger philosophical outlook. So these Sermons, or " Targums," if we use the Aramaic name, are verily a picture of Jewish men's increasing thoughtfulness and their more and more exalted humanity ; and let us say that all was a picture of the coming of God's True Man, the perfected Son of Man, the Image of God.

We may now give a few illustrations of the quaint, popular philosophy of the writers, and also of the traditions which became very common among the people, and which appear to have been well known by New Testament writers.

Most interesting are the accounts of the Creation of man in Gen. ch. ii. We read verse 7, in the elder Palestinian Preaching, " The GOD IAHWEH created man in two formations : He took dust from the place of the House of the Sanctuary, and from the four winds of the world, and He mixed something from all the waters of the world ; and He created man red, black, and white. Then He breathed

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into his nostrils the inspiration of life, and so there was in the body of the man the inspiration of a speaking spirit, unto the illumination of the eyes and the hearing of the ears." That is certainly beautiful, if fanciful. On the other hand the much later Preacher Onkelos says more simply, but also with profound eloquence, "The GOD IAHWEH created man from the dust of the ground, and breathed upon his face the breath of lives ; and it became in man a discoursing spirit." This was good philosophy : it was wonderful thus to lay emphasis from the beginning on the spiritual nature of man ; and it was nobly thoughtful to consider the speechful nature of man's spirit as the feature of highest importance. Such was the kind of thinking that fell upon the ears of the Boy and the Young Man JESUS, as He listened to the Preacher in the Synagogue. We begin to comprehend better what the Great Son of Man thought of, when He was growing up towards manhood. Such Synagoga! teachings filled His soul all the week long : then He began to preach Himself.

Paul shows his familiarity with these Sermons in his first letter to Corinth. ch. x. 1-4, where we find the words :

"Our fathers all drank of the same spiritual drink ;

"For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them.

"And that rock was the Anointed One."

This picture is taken by the apostle from the Sermons on Num. xx. 1-13, and xxi. 6-20 concerning

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Moses striking the rock. The Palestinian Sermon says :

- “ From Moab was given to the people the living well,
- “ The well concerning which IAHWEH said to MOSES,
- “ Assemble the people and give them water.
- “ Then, behold, Israel sang the thanksgiving of this song,
- “ At the time when the well which had been hidden
- “ Was restored to them through the merit of Miriam :—
- “ ‘ Spring up O Well, Spring up O Well,’ sang they to it.
- “ And it sprang up, the well which the Fathers of the world,
- “ Abraham, Isaac, Jacob digged.
- “ The princes who were of old digged it.
- “ Then turning it went up with them to the high mountains :
- “ From the high mountains it went down with them :
- “ And it descended with them to the low hills.”

So Paul used this loved tradition of the old song, which the Sermons in the Synagogue had taught him in Tarsus. To Paul that well of water ever following the people in the desert, was a symbol of God's ever-pursuing grace : it was like Thompson's "Hound of Heaven" : it was a picture of JESUS. Paul was glad to have heard it preached, and he repeated it gladly.

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One further illustration must content us. In reading the Second Epistle to Timothy many are troubled over ch. iii. 8, and they ask, "Who were these men, Jannes and Jambres, who withstood or tried to hinder Moses?" The question has puzzled many, but the answer is given in the Palestinian Sermon on Exod. ch. i., which says that Pharaoh dreamed that a babe was to be born that would destroy Egypt; but two chiefs of the magicians of Egypt told him how to save his nation. He must cause every Hebrew male child to be destroyed at once when born. And these two cruel men were called JANNES and JAMBRES! They did indeed withstand Moses, trying to kill him when he was a babe. Here, again, we find that Paul, or the author of this Second Epistle to Timothy, knew our Sermons well, and he reminds his newly ordained young friend how those two men had tried to destroy Moses. Clearly some little knowledge of these Sermons helps to an understanding of the New Testament. It is of small interest to us all to learn just who the two evil counsellors were; but the old story in the Sermon was a declaration of the sure care of IAHWEH for the little Hebrew people, and it was an utterance of the Preacher's own confidence in his God. So Paul used it gladly for the same purpose: the evil magicians failed, so should all evil be overcome, because God willed it so. We see the value of the Sermons.

CHAPTER IV

PALESTINIAN SERMONS ON THE PROPHETS

OUR examples hitherto have been almost all taken from sermons on the Narrative Books of the Pentateuch. It will be well to give one example from the treatment of a Prophet's Oracles ; and we choose the Palestinian Sermon on that peculiarly beautiful chapter ISAIAH v. 1-7, which was the Prophet's "Lament for IAHWEH's Vineyard." We shall take our passage direct from Lagarde's critical edition of a manuscript, made in 1105, by an unknown hand. This manuscript was discovered by the great scholar and pre-reformer, John Reuchlin, and was published by him in 1517. Professor de Lagarde published his critical edition of this in the Printing House of Teubner at Leipzig in 1872. We translate thus :

ISAIAH v. 1, the Prophet said :

- " Let me sing now for Israel, what is symbolized in the Vineyard.
- " It is the seed of Abraham, My Beloved.
- " The Song of My Beloved for His Vineyard.
- " O My beloved people Israel,
- " I gave to you a possession
- " In a high mountain, in a fat land.

Verse 2. " And I consecrated all, and I made all precious,

- " And I thoroughly exalted all, as an established thing,

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“ A chosen vine.

“ I built the house of My sanctuary among them.

“ Yea, I gave them verily My Altar,

“ For a covering over their failings.

“ I said that they should do good deeds.

“ But have any of them blushed at their deeds ?

Verse 3. “ O Prophet, say to them,

“ See, the house of Israel have rebelled from the Doctrine of Torah,

“ And they have no wish to return !

“ So now, O dwellers in Jerusalem, and every man of Judah,

“ Decide now a verdict before Me as against My People.

Verse 4. “ What good thing have I promised I would do for My People,

“ And I have not done it ?

“ Why was it when I said they should do good deeds,

“ That none of them blushed for their deeds ?

Verse 5. “ So now I will show you what I for My part

“ Am going to do to My People ;

“ I am going to take away from them My abode, My Shechinah.

“ And it is going to be a place of ruins.

“ Broken is their House of Sacred Things,

“ And it shall be ground down.

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Verse 6. "I will set them as deserted men.

"They shall not be comforted,

"They shall not be held stedfast, but they shall be

"Wanderers forever, Forsaken men !

"On the inspired ones I shall lay command

"That they shall not be filled with any Inspiration.

Verse 7. "Because His People, the People of
IAHWEH, the God of Hosts

"Are the House of Israel.

"Yea, the manhood of Judah were that plant that He joyed over.

"I said that they should do justice,

"And see ! they are robbers !

"I said that they should work purity,

"And see ! A labyrinth of sins !"

Two things may be said concerning this discourse of the Palestinian Sermon, for it is not a mere Translation but itself a Discourse. In the first place, certainly the Preacher weaves into it much of the sacrificial worship which ISAIAH himself had condemned severely. The Altar present in the Temple in their midst was to be an "Atonement," and a "Covering" to hide away their sins. The Jews had learned that idea of Atonement as a Covering, from the system of sacrifices and priestly methods which the Charter "P" had directed alongside of its great doctrine of Communion with IAHWEH. Then the plans of the Chronicler had elaborated it. That is true, and our Preachers

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were evidently deeply attached to those sacerdotal methods at the date we are considering, 300 B.C. onwards, and in the time of JESUS. Just so the ordinary person is always likely to cherish a fond attachment for ceremonies and symbolic methods. In the second place, however, the Preacher's soul and purpose were full of devotion to IAHWEH and of determination to win the people into purity, justice, honesty, and godliness. Those Preachers were eager to lift men ever higher in goodness.

The reader will discover that much has been added to the Sermons in the course of the many centuries; and this is to be seen especially in the Expositions of the later parts of the Pentateuch. For example lands, towns, peoples are mentioned such as Constantinople, Italy, Lombardy, which came into importance after A.D. 1. The Sermons on the story of Balaam show much of this. But all this recalls to memory the principle laid down in the great "P" Charter that there would be given of IAHWEH ever new revelations and guidance: the people believed in that noble principle that additions would be made; and they added many. Before Christianity became crystallized the Synagogues were thus earnestly educating and lifting the people. And their efforts were genuinely spiritual, showing always a fine freedom from any slavish submission to material forms, even to Scriptures, to Doctrines, or Ethics or Methods of Worship that had been handed down by the Fathers. Thus the character of the Sermons and of the people of Judaism, as seen in these Sermons, bears the stamp of a noble evangelism, a desire for great

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elevation of the people in the Jewish Homeland. We are to proceed to see what was being done for the Colonist Jews in Asia Minor and in Egypt, especially by the Greek Versions of the Hebrew Writings.

CHAPTER V
MISSION TO JEWS ABROAD.
THE SEPTUAGINT

Introductory.—The usually prevailing way of handling this subject “THE SEPTUAGINT” hitherto has gone widely astray. We may seem lacking in esteem for the hosts of students, scholars, thinkers who have treated our theme; but we must ask pardon, and go forward in the path that is perfectly plain to us.

Let us set it down at once that as we have been examining the SERMONS in Aramaic that were preached in the Synagogues up and down Judæa and the like in those fateful ages, 300 B.C. onward; so now we are to examine similarly SERMONS which were preached in the Synagogues in other lands in the hearing of the colonizing Jews in their far-away settlements. Those colonists were abundant in all Asia Minor, in Greece, in Italy, in Carthage, as well as in Egypt. Should not that go almost without saying?

The King Seleucus I of Syria, who changed his capital from Babylon on the Euphrates Delta to the north-east corner of the Mediterranean and soon built the city Antioch, naming it after one of his valued ancestors in Macedonia, made that great change for the sake of Commerce. Wise man that he was, he saw the value of the Mediterranean sea-coast, as giving sure commercial connexions with many European and African countries; while from the Euphrates Delta he could send ships only to

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few peoples. Society of those days recognized his wisdom and said that now a new era was beginning : the days and dates of this new world should all be called "SELEUCID." Then trade flew far and near, down the Palestine coast and away to the Nile mouths, where the Ptolemys were busy setting up another superb city, Alexandria, named in honour of the dead invader. Those merchants and their ships hailing from Antioch carried their goods still farther west beyond Egypt to Libya, Cyrenaica—"one of the most delightful regions on the face of the globe . . . where early the Jews settled in great numbers." The merchants voyaged still farther westwards, till they, like Æneas, landed at Carthage. And of course on all that voyaging the merchants and the navigators took the Greek speech with them, using it not in Africa only ; the ships went over to Gibraltar and then, coasting along to the east, they left and gathered treasures as before in southern France and along the Roman coastal possessions. So Greek became the market language in Great Italy.

Now, it was largely Jews who were the merchants. The lands and bays and islands of Greece would welcome these merchants, who were already speakers of their Hellenic tongue. So all the Mediterranean countries would trade ever more and more, while those Jews in the ships would often settle down and bring their worship with them. It need hardly be said that Asia Minor with all its various divisions became well known to Jews, and the Jews became at home in the regions to the north as well as in south, west, and east. Trade is the great colonizer, and with trade goes always the

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traders' religion. The Jews were genuine colonizers, and they erected Synagogues in all the world.

The Need and the Rise of the Septuagint.—It is well known that the Jewish people have always been mercantile. We do not need to apologize for that. Persons in England and Germany and Africa who are jealous of the trading Jews are just seeking thereby their own trade interests. But the horrible hatreds for Semites in London, Berlin, Cape Town are really passing away, and necessarily so, because trading causes friendship.

The position of Palestine as a sort of highway between the continents and its lack of large productions, either agricultural or manufactured, all led to readiness to seek business and new homes in distant lands, and this was combined always with the remarkable, unalterable link with Jerusalem which their religion kept thoroughly alive. All this tended to make the other nations think of the Jews as particularly mercantile. But there is nothing unethical in a mercantile nature. It is honoured greatly in the very fine parts of the Wisdom literature: in Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Solomon. Those merchanting Jews developed and maintained a high morality.

Thus we can be certain that the Synagogues were well maintained. Moreover, while the good old Hebrew text of the Mosaic Books was sure to be repeated carefully every Sabbath, there had to be constant Preaching, SERMONS, or what are commonly called TARGUMS, to interpret these Readings to the hearers in the Greek language, which had come to be the common speech of those colonizing Jews. The co-called SEPTUAGINT was the result: it is

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just another of the many sets of SERMONS delivered to the Jewish congregations in the Synagogues in far-off lands, all round the Mediterranean. Its text was created in exactly the same way as were the Aramaic Sermons, and it was and is a veritable TARGUM, a Synagogal SERMON series. Naturally the Books of MOSES, so called, were treated first; these had to be preached into the people's souls at once, for they were THE SACRED DOCTRINE Books, the Torah, and it is not at all strange to discover that tradition tells us these two things as facts: first, that the Greek form of the Pentateuch was made first, and secondly, that the preaching of these Greek Sermons began at once in the Greek days in the time of the first Ptolemy Kings, i.e. so far as such Sermons were used in Egypt.

Every one has heard of the so-called Letter of Aristeeas, of 250 B.C., which tells the fanciful tale about seventy Jewish scribes being brought from Jerusalem to Alexandria to make a translation of the Hebrew Writings for King Ptolemy II. The story that certain magical events happened, intended by heaven to authenticate the would-be result of this embassy, helps us to see that the story is untrue. No such committee of scribes was needed to secure a Greek version, for the people in Greek-speaking places were sure to get Greek Sermons, or Targums, Translations, or Interpretations in the Synagogues from the very early days of settlement. The Preaching must have been given in Greek in every Synagogal congregation in Alexandria, in Cairo, or elsewhere in Egypt.

But just in a similar way Greek interpretations would be given in every Jewish Synagogue all

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around the Mediterranean. Such Synagogues are mentioned in the New Testament as found and visited by Paul and other early Christian apostles, as they travelled all over Asia Minor and Greece. It was in the Synagogues that Paul and his fellows found audiences; and as it was usual for any worshipper to take part in the services, for we read descriptions of this in JESUS' addresses in the Galilean Synagogues, so the Book of Acts tells us with great interest of Paul's preaching to the congregations assembled in those Synagogues.

Nor need we have any anxiety lest there would result a great diversity in the Interpretations as given in Synagogues separated widely all over those Mediterranean coasts and lands. Paul was not the only man who went out from Jerusalem to preach his faith; we read of others coming down besides him; and such visitations would be sure to secure at least some fair unanimity in the Sermons given in so many places. But we know well that there were quite a number of different sets of Interpretations. The great Septuagint scholar de Lagarde, of Göttingen, whose work we shall describe presently, tells us that in the middle of the second Christian century, about 150 A.D., there were some five considerably differing Interpretations, or we may say five differing "authorized" SEPTUAGINTS, one in each of the great Archdioceses. There was that called Lucian's Text, which was the authority in the Archdioceses of Constantinople and Antioch; there was another that was authoritative in the great East African district; another was ruling in the Italian District centring in Milan, and still another was authoritative in Carthage and its

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western regions. Of course still a fifth was the honoured authority among Greek-speaking Jews in and around Jerusalem. We know these facts because of quotations from them in liturgical forms and in Christian sermons and treatises. This could never have come to pass unless there had been already constant Jewish use of such differing forms of the text. There had been growing up clearly in the pre-Christian time several fairly differing forms of the Greek Interpretations of the Hebrew Sacred Books, and it was these that were naturally taken into use by the early Christians. Thus the construction of the SEPTUAGINT was not at all a thing done once for all by a few persons in an Egyptian city, but it was the product of the missionary spirit of the Jews everywhere, in their efforts to keep their fellow-Jews, children and others, well acquainted with the venerable story of their past, and to inspire in all the faith in IAHWEH's sure communion with all who trusted with Him beside the old records.

Professor de Lagarde of Göttingen made it his life-work to seek to obtain, if possible, what might be counted as "the original SEPTUAGINT." His theory was that in some way such an original document had been constructed, probably in Egypt. He determined therefore to restore critically and exactly each one of the five various texts which he found to have been used in the various Archdioceses, as we have indicated above. He gathered from all the possible hiding-places copies of the Lucian or Antioch-Constantinopolitan text; and with utmost care proceeded to obtain the original form of that Lucianic text. It was a heavy task, involving intri-

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cate examinations of all possible sources of light on the matter. And he did restore and publish a first volume of that Lucianic text containing all the books from Genesis to Esther. The volume is a marvel if only as a monument of immense research and untiring toil. But alas! then de Lagarde died after suffering a surgical operation. At the interment of the precious remains the Rector of the Göttingen University expressed the great reverence of all scholars for the devoted man; but he also declared that to carry out de Lagarde's purposes and reconstruct all he wished to produce was impossible. Certainly he was right in that opinion, for the task would have demanded a whole staff of scholars such as the sainted man had been. Lagarde had realized his wish with only one half of one of the five great texts which he had set out to recover. Even if in his workrooms there lay already the material for completing the Lucianic text, when that one text was restored there were still four more to be reconstructed with all the minute labour that a thorough textual critic or judge would need to give to the work. And when that five-fold reconstruction was accomplished, then would only begin the further vast operation of collating these five; and from them, with finest acumen and care, would have to be decided for every word and sentence and passage what was the entirely correct reconstruction of the original from which, as Lagarde believed, all these five had been derived and developed in the long course of time and use. Certainly the Rector was right: it was an impossibility to carry on the master's work.

Let us recall some features of Lagarde's outfit

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for his task. He had made himself perfectly master of—how many languages? He held, as he used to say in his classroom, the Semitic tongues in his pocket. Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Aramaic were all to him like his mother-tongue; Coptic, Armenian Persian, Sanscrit he handled consummately. And our modern European languages—German, English, French, Italian—were fully his. The story seems almost unreal or incredible, as one looks back upon it. But he did all that. Besides, he had published virtually in all these languages writings older and newer, printing them at his own cost in many cases, to provide the material for further insight and knowledge by himself, and by all others if they desired it, which would be needed in the critical reconstruction of the SEPTUAGINT texts of the various sorts. Wonderful man and teacher he was; and withal full of the happiest and kindest spirit, never letting his great learning overwhelm with nervous hopelessness his humblest pupil. It is a joy to say all this. Alas, that he died so prematurely! And yet, the Rector's words would have been true in his own case: it would have been impossible for himself to complete the immense task he had undertaken. He knew his way indeed and whither it was leading him, and he did reconstruct a few of the first chapters of Genesis in what he counted as a perfect example of "The Original SEPTUAGINT."

But we have shown above that the revered Greek Bible could not have originated in such a way as he postulated, i.e. in one document prepared by a very few co-operators in Alexandria. On the contrary the Jewish missionary service observed

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every Sabbath by the devoted Jewish Elders in every Synagogue around the Mediterranean was a vastly greater thing than Lagarde's great theory presupposed. Such was the spirit, the devotion, the quiet energy of the Religion of JUDAISM. They went out into all the world and preached their Gospel to every creature; to the Jew first, indeed, but also to the Gentiles, as we are to see presently.

The Religion of Judaism as seen in The Septuagint.—Freedom of soul we must set first as the great and chief feature in that Religion. The elders who preached the Greek Interpretation had no sense at all of servility to an unchangeable Biblical Text. They added, they altered, they transposed as occasion arose in their view. Let us take illustrations.

What we call the APOCRYPHA is included in several texts of the SEPTUAGINT, but this occurrence of the Maccabee Books, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom is not an evidence that these Books were used in the Synagoga Sermons. It is, however, possible that such books as the Maccabees were so used.

But striking signs of the freedom of those Preachers are seen in the Book of Jeremiah. To point out and discuss the many alterations the Greek Preachers made here would be beyond our power in this present study. But a fairly good conception of the freedom used can be got by considering the chief alteration which they made, namely, the removal of what are cc. xlv. to li. in the Hebrew text and of course in the English, away from that peculiar place for these chapters, and the insertion of them just after ch. xxv. 13 in the Greek text. The Greek

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order thus becomes, beginning with ch. xxv., the following: ch. xxv. 1-13, (v. 14, is left out altogether although it is in its proper place in the Hebrew), and then in the Greek text in cc. xxvi. to xxxi. all the predictions of woes to foreign peoples. So these Greek Woes threatened to foreign peoples become: Against ELAM, ch. xxv. 14-xxvi. 1; against EGYPT, ch. xxvi. 2-28; against BABYLON, cc. xxvii. and xxviii.; against the PHILISTINES, ch. xxix. 1-6; against EDOM, ch. xxix. 7-22; against AMMON, ch. xxx. 1-5; against KEDAR, ch. xxx. 6-11; against DAMASCUS, ch. xxx. 12-16; against MOAB, ch. xxxi. 1-44 (end). This is quite different from the position of the Woes on Foreigners in the Hebrew text: there they stand as cc. xlvi. to li. This is a remarkable variation; and either the Greek writers or editors made the great Hebrew alteration; so we see that there was no hesitation felt by those writers in making the alteration. It must be noted here that the Book of JEREMIAH in the Hebrew, and as we have it in English, is by no means in the form that that Prophet made; the prophecies were arranged by persons living long after his time, and these persons added many Hebrew passages to his oracles. Then the changes which we have been describing as made by the Greek Preachers were changes from that late Hebrew. We shall return to this point later on.

Another notable alteration made by the Greek editors is to be seen in the Book of Psalms. Our Psalm-Book has 150 Psalms; the Greek Book has 151. The 151st is a supposed Chant of King David, thanking IAHWEH after the battle with Goliath.

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We must now point out that our present Hebrew text was prepared a long time after the SEPTUAGINT, or at least parts of it, had been prepared. Illustrations of this fact are interesting. One we found in Gen. xlvii. 1-10, and it is besides a remarkable evidence of the existence of the various documents, "J," "E," and "P," which were used in making the Pentateuch. In this chapter in Greek, Gen. xlvii. vv. 1-5 gives one story of the arrival of JACOB and his family in Egypt, as any one can see on reading a copy of the SEPTUAGINT. That story of the arrival, and of the grant to the sons of Jacob by Pharaoh of permission to live and be shepherds in Goshen, or Geshem as the Greek says, is quite complete at v. 5. But then begins an entirely new story of the arrival, wherein it is the Pharaoh who tells Joseph that his relatives have arrived and bids Joseph give them a comfortable home and lands. The first of these two stories comes in full from "J" the Jahwist writer of about 900 B.C. The second story is in full from the "P" narrator of Nehemiah's day. The remarkable point is that there are given the two stories, and that these are separately and fully preserved in the Greek Preachers' text. But when we look at the Hebrew text, or our English translation of that, we discover that the final editor of the Hebrew has quite altered the two stories so as to weave them into one continuous narrative. Thus the writers of our Hebrew text, the so-called Masoretes or tradition-makers, were certainly younger, and working later than the Greek writers. That text which the Preachers give us comes most probably from about 250 B.C.; whereas the Hebrew must

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have been prepared a century later, after the destruction by Antiochus Epiphanes of all the Hebrew Rolls that he could seize. New Rolls had to be prepared then for the many Synagogues which had been robbed ; and no doubt it was then that our Hebrew text was finally made ready. It would be then that the scribes took pains to interweave the two stories in Gen. xlvii. 1-10 into one continuous narrative. We must be very grateful to those Greek Preachers who have thus provided us with an evidence of the clear existence before them of the two documents " P," the Priestly Record of Nehemiah, and " J," the Iahwistic Record of David's time.

Another valuable case of similar evidence occurs in Exod. xxx. 1-6, where the new direction is added to the original Charter to construct an Altar, or Burning Table, for Incense. In the Greek Preachers' text it is directed that the Incense-Table is to be placed outside the Most Holy Chamber, outside and in Front of the Veil which conceals the Casket holding the Great Record of the Past and the Promise of Communion. And this ch. xxx. says the officiating Priest was to burn the Incense on that Table every day, yet only on one Day in all the year was he to go in behind the Vail beside the Casket. The Communing with IAHWEH beside the Casket and its Roll was to take place only once in the year. But now we examine the English text, or the Hebrew ; and we find that in ch. xxx. 6 there are written two directions as to where the Incense-Table was to be placed : one, the first, gives the words which the Greek Preachers had before them, " Set it outside the Vail," but then a

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second direction follows saying, "Set it inside the Vail." The words of the two directions are exactly the same: the first one had not been removed; both were allowed to stand there contradicting one another. As the priest had to burn Incense daily upon the special Incense-Table, he therefore, according to the second direction, had to enter the Most Holy Place of Communion with IAHWEH every day! The object of this added direction, "Put it inside," was a clear sign that the people were not satisfied with an annual Communion, but sought that the joy of it should be possible daily. As we leave the matter we note that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in his ch. ix. 4 knew and used the new plan. In New Testament days the Altar of Incense stood inside the Vail in the Most Holy Chamber. All these various illustrations show that Freedom of attitude towards Scripture was one of the features of this SEPTUAGINT series of Sermons. We may perhaps say it was the most important feature; it carried out in practice the great Teaching of the Charter "P," that IAHWEH would constantly give new and ever-newer revelations and ever-fresh Divine guidance. Never were men to be regarded as "made for the Scripture: the Scripture was made for men"; and the Scripture was being constantly altered for the sake of men.

It might be counted hardly necessary to show that this Greek Series of Sermons was full of marks of a tender spirit and of kindness. A very interesting illustration of this is to be seen in 1 Kings xiv. 1-17, where is written the story of the King Jeroboam's little son being ill, and we read of Jeroboam sending

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his Queen to consult a prophet concerning the child. The father said to the mother, "Arise, go and enquire of the man of God. . . . Arise, and take in thine hand loaves for the man of God, and *cakes for his children*, and grapes, and a pot of honey. And the woman arose, and took in her hand bread, *and two cakes*, and grapes, and a pot of honey for the prophet. And the man was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see." It seems a little thing, but it tells of the wish of the SEPTUAGINT Preachers to think kindly of this rebellious King Jeroboam as having a kind heart, although he was counted a heretic. It is a picture of several kindnesses: that of the King, and that of the Preachers, and that of the society of the time when these Sermons were preached. Such was the Religion of Judaism in the century 300 B.C. and onward.

Finally, we may summarize our estimate of the SEPTUAGINT and the Religion of its hearers or readers. There were Jews all round the Mediterranean; and they had Synagogues in all their towns of abode. In these there worshipped men and women who spoke Greek and who must have forgotten or had never learned to speak Aramaic or Hebrew. To these the loved old Hebrew Scripture was read, in the language that was really now an unknown tongue. Then Elders rose and preached and interpreted the Contents: they "Targumed" it in the Greek language. But in doing so they acted with perfect freedom to alter as they felt this to be needed. In other words, they all believed the venerable doctrine given through Nehemiah's Charter, "P," in its sacred words, "I will make

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Tryst with you, and I will come to you at the Trysting Place, and I will evermore give you new guidance for the way I wish the children of Israel to go." Such Devotion to the great Principle was the heart of their Religion. They trusted their GOD IAHWEH : they walked in fellowship and Communion with Him. That was the Religion of JUDAISM B.C. ; that was the development which was by and by going to bring JESUS. The SEPTUAGINT shows us that. The old conception of that Series of Greek Sermons as a thing made by a few men or by one person in Alexandria is entirely wrong and must be forgotten. The great fact concerning it is that it meant Missionary Evangelism among all Jews in all distant lands where the Jews had settled : the Jewish mind took care to evangelize its people old and young everywhere. They kept to their Synagogal Worship although far away from Jerusalem, and they took care, as Deut. ch. vi. had taught, to lay it all with its story of their Fathers and of IAHWEH's care of them on the hearts of all by means of these Greek Sermons or Interpretations or Targums, which we call the SEPTUAGINT.

CHAPTER VI

EVANGEL AMONG FOREIGNERS

Jewish Tendency.—It is a common belief that the Jews had absolutely no care for any people outside the boundaries of their own nation, that they were not at all minded to carry on any Foreign Mission, or Evangelization as we may properly call it. But that idea is simply another of the great mistakes that Christians have made. How much misunderstanding, spite, cruelty to Jews have lasted throughout the nineteen centuries since JESUS was killed amongst that people! If our present study can help to clear away that ignorance and darkness, which are entire superstition, our happiest result may be reached. This investigation of ours concerning the ancestry and the real humanity of The KING JESUS, and the answer to our cry like that of those Greeks described in John xii. 21, "Sirs, we would see JESUS," will be an actual vision of the whole Story of The Son of Man. It will lead us all likewise into far larger trust in God and in His Love for every one of us. We are therefore going to watch now how Hebrew and Jewish care for the souls of all the outside world went on ever growing richer through those early centuries. We are going to learn how true are the words, again found in the Gospel of John, "God so loved the World"; His Love for all filled many a soul even long before 300 B.C., and certainly before A.D. 1.

The fancy that Jews have refused always to have any religious communion with non-Jewish persons

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is a mistake. Certainly our usual translation of the Hebrew word for "foreigners," i.e. גוֹיִם, "Goim," as "heathen," is a mistake inherited from the Greek language with its word ΕΘΝΟΣ (Έθνος), which is not a religiously condemnatory word at all. It is well to remark here that the English version of Psalms often speaks of the "badness of the heathen," as we see in Ps. lxxix. 1: "IAHWEH, the *heathen* are come into Thine inheritance." But Old Testament students know that the Hebrew word גוֹיִם ("Goim"), translated by us "heathen," was really often written originally by the Psalmist as גִּבּוֹרִים, i.e. "Proud ones." This remarkable substitution did not take place in all cases, but in many. To grasp this remark will help in many cases to understand better the real spirit of the Singers of those Psalms. We may recall how Paul pointed out in his first Letter to Corinth, "I wrote unto you not to company with bad persons, yet not altogether do I counsel you to have no fellowship with all such; for then must ye needs go out of the world"; and just so each Jew had of necessity to be much in association with non-Jews, else he would have had to go out of the world.

We look back now to the record of the mind of the noblest Hebrews and Jews. We shall find much that has been commonly but strangely disregarded. When the captives were taken away to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar in 600 to 590 B.C. the consequent nearer acquaintance with the foreign people led to notably new feelings and utterances. Let us see the chief of these.

The Book of JEREMIAH tells us in ch. xxix. 7 that

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in a letter the Prophet wrote to the captives he said, "Seek ye the peace of the city where IAHWEH has caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto IAHWEH for it ; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." JEREMIAH might well be called the Prophet of Advancing Thought ; and in this passage from one of his letters, so like the counsel a true and tender pastor would send to far-away members of his flock, we have one of his most significant advances. For even AMOS had taught that it would be an accursed thing to die far away and be buried in a foreign soil ! As Robertson Smith ably showed, the essential Semitic faith was that the God, the People, and the Land were one ; and no one of the three could have a true existence apart from the other two. So before JEREMIAH it was no doubt still counted an accursed thing to die and be buried in Babylon. But JEREMIAH altered that. He saw that when the captives were away yonder, IAHWEH would be also there with them, and they could talk with Him ; they could ask Him for great blessings, and He could work those blessings there far away from Canaan. JEREMIAH "so loved the World" that he wished and prayed IAHWEH to give Peace and Health to those Slave-Masters. JEREMIAH believed in Foreign Missions : he taught his people to believe in them. Noble JEREMIAH ! The forerunner he was of all the great lovers of the souls of all men.

Move farther on, and see a man who may very likely have been a pupil of JEREMIAH, namely, The SLAVE-SINGER who sang about 560 B.C. in Babylon. His four songs are in Second Isaiah. See especially in the first and second of these songs

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(Isa. ch. xlii. 1-4 and ch. xlix. 1-6), how the first of these chants thus :

Stanza 1. " See ! My Slave ! Of whom I am
going to keep My hold.
" My worthily chosen one ! In him My
Life rejoices.
" I have given My Spirit to cover him :
" It is justice for the Nations that he
will utter.

Stanza 2. " He will not cry out, nor lift up his
voice,
" Nor make it to be heard in the streets.
" Is there ever a bruised reed ?
" He will not let it be crushed.
" Is there a flickering wick ?
" He will not utterly extinguish it.

Stanza 3. " In truest sort will he utter justice.
" He shall not weary, and he shall not
flinch,
" Until he shall have set justice in all
the earth,
" And the far away coasts will keep
looking for his Teaching."

We remember here that JEREMIAH seemed to hope that peace and benefit for the captives would be the outcome of their prayer to IAHWEH for their masters ; but that hope is altogether absent in this Slave-Song. JEREMIAH's thought of the result had pretty certainly no selfishness in it, but in Isa. xlii. 1-4 we can make no mistake ; the idea of the Singer and of the people who chant with him is,

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“ Let us give and establish Justice for all men in all the world. All men the world over will know it, and they will look to us, the enslaved people, for that greatest blessing. We will not go about, like many a would-be seer, shouting out what good things we offer ; we shall keep almost unknown.” That tenderness of the Singer, that gracious helpfulness for all feeble souls, would make him well known ; His reputation would run from land to land, so that everywhere people would say with expectant gladness, “ Ah, he will come ! And he will tell us the true way to go and to do.” That Song, taken with the parallel in Third Isaiah lxi., seems peculiarly to forecast all our Healing Missions. And what a marvellous conception it was !

But now, ere we pass on, let us look back to the first words of the Song. There stands the secret of it all : the Singer declares his faith that he is clasped in the tenderest embrace of IAHWEH ! The great and wonderful IAHWEH has breathed out over him HIMSELF, even His Own Divine Spirit. So he sings that his God is doing such things for the Hebrew slaves. It is not any wonder, they think, that the beautiful results shall come. God cares for all men in all ends of the earth ; God loves them all, and loves each one to the full. Here, then, was a marvellous Foreign Missionary Ideal, caught to the soul by this Teacher of the nation : we are to see it blossom more grandly still in the later days.

Next we turn to the second of these Slave-Songs. If possible it is nobler and more wonderful than the first. Let us translate it as it stands in Isa. xlix. 1-6 :

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Stanza 2. “ Listen, ye far away lands, to me,
“ Give attention, O Peoples, from your
distant homes !
“ It was IAHWEH that from the very
birth summoned me,
“ When I lay in the bosom of my
mother it was that He recorded a
character for me !
“ He fashioned my mouth like a sharp
sword.
“ Yes, in His hand’s shadow He hid me.
“ Yes, like a sharp arrow He hid me in
His quiver.

Stanza 3. “ And He said to me, ‘ It is My Slave
thou art !
“ Even thou, by whom I am going to
adorn Myself.
“ So I, the poor Slave, was honoured in
IAHWEH’s eyes,
“ And my very God has been my
strength !

Stanza 4. “ But as for me it came about that I
said, ‘ It is in vain that I have
wearied,’
“ For emptiness and nought have I used
up my strength !
“ Ah, but justice for me was waiting
with IAHWEH ;
“ What I had done was in my God’s
hands.

Stanza 5. “ For now IAHWEH has spoken,
“ He Who from my birth fashioned me

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to be His Own Slave (not a Slave of
Babylon),

“To the end that I should restore
Jacob to Him,

“And that this Israel should not get
carried away,—He says now to me,

Stanza 6. “ ‘Too trivial it would be to raise up
the tribes of Jacob,

“ ‘And to give Restoration to these
who art left of Israel;

“ ‘I am going to give thee as a light to
Nations!

“ ‘Thou art to be My Salvation to the
World’s ends!’ ”

My Help.

This new revelation of the man’s life and task came when in 560 B.C. the hoped-for Deliverer, Cyrus, turned away from his campaign against Babylon. A dark moment fell on the Singer; but the new light shone there. There, then, was a commission of World-wide Salvation! It is not amiss to point out that the Hebrew word here translated “Salvation” or “Help” is actually the word “Jesus,” that Name given so long after to our Great Saviour; and possibly it was actually from this passage that those took the Name for Him who constructed His story. But to leave that possibility aside, how notable it is that this Slave-Singer, on the delta-plains of Babylon, seeing all about himself his masters indeed, but all of them needing the sense of Divine Love that filled his own soul, came to love them, and to believe that

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GOD meant to bless them with the calm trust and happiness that filled himself. And so he rose to sing this chant with its great Foreign Missionary conception.

Strangely enough, some persons, even noted preachers, have so far missed the value of this Song that they have said it was a cry of fretful unwillingness to join in the efforts of Jews to escape from slavery! On the contrary, the singer was disheartened that the release from bondage did not come, but was so long delayed; so he cried in his converse with his GOD that all his hopes to help his people to be free had been in vain. All were dashed by the failure of Cyrus to come and free them. All his preaching to them that they should join in plans for escape had proved a failure. But now in the darkest hour his soul grasps the new, grand ideal. GOD whispers it in him, and he cries, "Ah, now we see what we are here for, and why we are to stay and not go home! Now we understand IAHWEH's providence in causing our captivity and our enslaving here in Babylon. We are to stay here in order that these Babylonians around us may see our faith and our joy, and that they all may learn the Love of our IAHWEH. All of them are to be saved even by our suffering this slavery." Such was the noble Foreign Missionary ideal of the Hebrew Slaves. And it had its fruit.

For we turn now to another dweller among those people, not one of the slaves, but the Third ISAIAH; who wrote in Jerusalem in the days just before Nehemiah brought his "P" Charter from Persia to teach the great new Doctrine of Communion-Tryst with IAHWEH. He was a child of those left

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in Judah, when Nebuchadrezzar captured most of the people ; he may have heard of the wonderful faith and teaching of the Slave-Singer ; or shall we be content to think that the new ideal had arisen in him in the old homeland, as well as in the Slave-Singer in captivity ? In any case, the beautiful chapters of this Third ISAIAH are all lined, illuminated, and blessed by these utterances which we shall quote, thus :

In ch. lvi. 3 ff. are words we often repeat :

Verse 3. “ Let not the man who is not a Jew say,
“ ‘ IAHWEH will separate me from His
People.’ ”

Verse 6. “ The strangers who join themselves to
IAHWEH to serve Him,
“ And who love His Name, that they may
be His servants,
“ All these will I bring to My sacred
mountain, and make them glad in
My House of Prayer.

Verse 7. “ My House shall be called a House of
Prayer for all peoples.”

And then in ch. lx. 1 ff., are the splendid utterances :

Verse 1. “ Arise, shine : for thy light comes !
“ IAHWEH’s glory beams upon thee.

Verse 2. “ For see, darkness covers the earth,
“ And gloom covers the peoples :

Verse 3. “ But IAHWEH is beaming upon thee,
“ And His glory appears above thee !

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“Peoples will come to thy light,
“And kings to the brightness of thy
shining.”

Verse 4. “Lift up thine eyes on every side and
behold :
“They are all gathering together, they
are coming to thee !

Verses 8, 9, “What cloud is gathering there, as of
doves to their cotes ?
“Unto us the far-away coasts are
going to keep gathering,
“To bring our sons from afar, their
silver and their gold with them,
“To the Name of our GOD IAHWEH
“And to the Devoted God of Israel,
“For He hath richly adorned us.

And finally in ch. lxxv. :

Verse 16. “Whosoever in all the earth shall seek
a blessing,
“Shall seek it from the God of
(‘AMEN’) Truth ;
“And whoso shall pledge himself in
all the earth,
“Shall pledge himself by the True
God.”

Such, then, was the attitude of Jews even before
Nehemiah’s sublime teaching had come to Judæa.
No wonder if we are to go on to find similar care
for the good of non-Jewish peoples among the men
who preached from 300 B.C. onwards. We turn

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therefore to watch the singular efforts made by the writer of the little Book called "JONAH."

The Teaching of Jonah.—We need not doubt that this booklet hails from about the middle of the third century B.C., the special period that we have been considering in our study of Jewish Missions in the SERMONS and the SEPTUAGINT. For on one hand the Book of Jonah was known to the writer of the Book of SIRACH'S Son of about 250 B.C. which we call ECCLESIASTICUS; he speaks in his ch. xlix. 10 of "The Twelve Prophets," showing thus that he knew the Collection of "Twelve" as we know it in the Twelve little Books—HOSEA to MALACHI. Earlier than say 250 B.C. it could hardly have been composed, for it uses Aramaic forms of Language, especially the late-used relative pronoun "she" (ܫܐ) which is a contraction from ܫܐܝܬ (asher), and is quite common in late Aramaic, as, e.g., in the Syriac New Testament. Moreover, it follows the method of preaching by parable which is very much practised in the Aramaic Sermons, where constantly we meet pictorial and parabolic illustrations and enlargements. This custom led the author to construct his tale as something concerning Nineveh, the old capital city of Assyria. Assyria fell and became an utter ruin at the hands of the Babylonians about 610 B.C., and was never again heard of; so to write about it as a very wicked city and land was an easy thing that would offend no one and would not be contradicted. It was a common practice to impute thus great faults to a people or a person

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that was very far away. Nineveh and its land of Assyria are here used simply as convenient great and careless communities of the far past. The writer's aim is not to give actual history, but to picture the Love of IAHWEH for all peoples. The name Nineveh just means "any careless nation."

As we look at the parable thus set here we must at once exercise some critical care. Especially must we exclude the so-called "Prayer of JONAH" from the book; it is a late addition, and it has not any relation to the circumstances of the parable. It is really a Psalm of Thanksgiving, and it sings of the writer's joy in his having been in the Sanctuary in Jerusalem, preparing to offer sacrifices there.

Again, we may decide that the "Great Fish," which, let us note by the way, was not a "whale" at all, is introduced into the action of the parable to represent IAHWEH's complete government of the sea and all things in it, as well as of all men on sea or shore.

Now we listen to the poor deserting "prophet's" story. In the marvellous Love of IAHWEH for all souls, His purposes reach the moment when He will show His Heart of Grace to these great sinners in Nineveh, and He will lift them out of their sin, into devotion to Himself and into life of new and noble sort for themselves. So IAHWEH directs one of His Hebrew Inspired Seers to carry His Divine message, the warning that is Terror and likewise Love. Now emerges in the parable the pitiful disregard that so many of the circumcised children of Abraham had conceived for all outsiders. Many, many, alas! had conjured up a doctrine that was diametrically the opposite of the Mind of God

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towards the souls of all men. The story-writer pictures JONAH as believing in this ungodlike doctrine ; he would not carry this message of Love to the despised Nineveh. Here the parable pictures even a prophet as clutching this ungodly hatred to his heart ; doubtless in this he is representing many ungodly souls among his Jewish fellows.

But now the Great God by His power changes the mind of this unwise Prophet JONAH, partly by the influence of a storm and the prayers of sailors, and partly also by His secret inward sense of Divine inspiration ; and even the Prophet takes up his mission, goes away to the field assigned to him, and preaches repentance. This is an illustration of belief in Divine Care for Assyrians. They are not Jews ; they are not children of Abraham. Yet IAHWEH holds them in His close embrace, yearning to make them good. Now let us remember as we go forward that we are not listening to the man JONAH, but to the author of the story. He knows the Love of God ; he is eager, like his Lord, to accomplish this work of saving for foreign sinful men and of blessing for those foreigners ; his soul is one with God. And thus here we have a picture of the noble souls in Judaism, who do not share at all that dislike for other peoples so commonly supposed to be in every Jewish mind. We are learning how real Judaism, which really loved IAHWEH, loved all the world. JONAH is not a representative of true Judaism, but only of a part, and let us believe it was a small part, as we shall presently find good reason to believe. The Prophet travelled away across the wide plains of North Arabia to the great rivers and to the city of Nineveh.

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He preached his warning and his evangel, and that with excellent results ; for all the city, the King, and the people repented.

Now the selfish spirit and exclusiveness that so many of us wrongly impute to all Jews appears again. For the prophet is angry that IAHWEH has saved Nineveh. The story of the quick-upspringing gourd plant and its withering so soon introduce again the Oracle of the Love of GOD which is for all the world, and which excludes none from Divine Grace, but waits to be gracious to the uttermost. All these features of the parable are striking marks of the Spiritual care of the Jews for foreigners. Such was the character of that ancestry and evolution from amongst which was born at length the SON of MAN, JESUS.

This Teaching by the Author of " JONAH " was honoured and exalted by the leaders of the people, although we hear it often said that all Jews refused to allow foreigners to share in the Love of IAHWEH. That far too common mistake is seen to be groundless by various evidences. When the Council or Sanhedrim met at Jamnia in A.D. 100, and undertook the establishment of a Canon of their Scriptures, they included JONAH in that Canon. They knew well what it implied, nevertheless they gave the Book to their people, for all ages to be a Divinely authoritative teaching. Again we find the so-called WISDOM of SIRACH of about 150 B.C. including JONAH as one of the sacred Writings. For in SIRACH ch. xlix. 9, 10 he says :

" Let me mention JOB the Prophet,

" Who guarded all the paths of righteousness ;

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“ And also the Twelve Prophets. . . .

“ May their bones arise again from their graves.

“ They made Jacob well again,

“ And restored him by their medicine.”

The Twelve Prophets must mean what we call The Twelve, i.e. HOSEA to MALACHI, which list includes JONAH. ISAIAH, JEREMIAH he had already mentioned. Thus by the time of the Maccabees JONAH stood in the honoured and sacred list of the Prophets.

But, furthermore, the Elders of the so-called Great Synagogue in their MISHNAH, or Second Book of Doctrine, directed that our little book should be used as the Lesson for the Day on the Great Day of Atonement, to show what Repentance would do, even in foreigners. And can we forget the passages in Matt. xii. 41 and Luke xi. 30 ff. where is recorded the statement of JESUS that the Elders and the People held this Book of JONAH as a sign of the longing readiness of GOD to forgive? These notices here and there in the days soon after 200 B.C. may well convince us that Jews did not exclude foreign peoples from IAHWEH's Love, but they were willing that the Evangel should go to all.

Finally we must consider another beautiful feature in the mind of our Author. He represented a host of Jews living then who knew well the spiritual need of all the peoples of the earth. They knew that those distant and foreign peoples were thoroughly ready and even eager to hear such a cry as :

“ Come unto Me all ye that labour,

“ And I will give you rest.”

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And they knew also the far older bidding :

“ Look unto Me, and be ye saved all ye ends of the earth,

“ For I IAHWEH am God, and there is none else.”

Those invitations were echoed from their inmost hearts, and they longed to see all men find rest in the Great Heart. Such was the evangelizing spirit and purpose of those Jewish generations from 300 B.C. and onwards. Then when JESUS came He carried out the noble ideal of His fathers and fellow-Jews, although there were so many who refused to listen to Him. In spite of all opposition He uttered His Universal Gospel :

“ Go ye out into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every soul.

“ For God so loves the World, that He sent Me to live and die for all.”

And that was the real and essential Religion of JUDAISM. It is no wonder that Christians use it and its records as their own precious treasures.

Ruth and Esther.—Very little concerning these Books is needed. Generally readers of them, amid their usual Bible-study, will feel that they are late productions, all seeming to come from the same centuries which we are considering. But let us look nearer.

Concerning RUTH.—That the date of this lovely little idyll's composition was in or after 300 B.C. is suggested by these signs :

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It is evidently written to give a tradition of the origin of the Great King DAVID. It tells of his father and of his great-grandfather BOAZ, whose spouse was the Moabitess RUTH; but in the course of the story it takes occasion to say that customs and legal arrangements which are described belonged to times very long ago. The writer makes no claim, or sign of any claim, to be writing in DAVID's day, or anywhere near it. It was composed long after David. There are no references to what was commanded by the noted Book of Deuteronomy, with its new Constitution which was accepted by King JOSIAH and his people in 620 B.C. Indeed, when the little story tells of RUTH the Moabitess coming into the Israelite community, and of her great-grandson being actually the great King DAVID, we see that the command of Deut. xxiii. 3 is ignored. No excuse at all is given for such ignoring. Let us quote the startling command, "A Moabite shall not enter into the Congregation of IAHWEH: even to his tenth generation shall he not enter there. Because I . . . , etc." That would have excluded DAVID! But now the Idumaeans must trust IAHWEH's love.

The booklet was placed in the Hebrew Collection by the Jewish Elders at JAMNIA in their important Sanhedrin gathered there for deciding what books might be allowed to stand in that most sacred Collection, but they set it among what are simply called "Writings," which, be it noted, are not called "sacred." Our booklet in the English version is set between JUDGES and SAMUEL, as if it were a part of these: but not so said those Jewish Elders at JAMNIA. It belongs to quite a third-rate list of Writings.

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This leads us to observe that RUTH and four other little books are called "The Five Megilloth," i.e. "The Five Rolls": these are SONG OF SOLOMON, RUTH, LAMENTATIONS, ECCLESIASTES, ESTHER. These Rolls are brought out of the sacred Caskets on five sacred Festivals, each on its own special occasion; and they are read as the Lessons for these days. RUTH is thus read at the Festival of Pentecost, i.e. on Whitsunday. Therefore whatever tone and teaching these five Rolls may give is authorized as orthodox and proper Jewish instruction. Such, then, was the mind of Jews in the early days of Christianity, even when they were exceedingly eager to defend their sacred customs.

It is impossible to discuss here the linguistic signs that our booklet comes from the Aramaic times after 300 B.C.; but the Hebrew reader sees them, not in great abundance but sufficiently to guide us to the date of the author. It is quite a late product, and belongs to Judaism.

We have already pointed out that the story abandons altogether the rigid way of "excluding Moabites, even to the tenth generation from the Congregation for Worship." This shows the care that was given after 300 B.C. to evangelize foreigners.

The Book of ESTHER might be described similarly. The admirable, if tragic, Story of ESTHER presents the beautiful young Jewish Queen as a genuine child of IAHWEH, although she has become the spouse of a thoroughly foreign monarch. The writer of this narrative lived clearly in the Maccabean time, *circa* 160 B.C., and the devoted relative of the Queen, her uncle Mordecai, was entirely satisfied to see ESTHER enter into the foreign home

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and systems. The Jews as a people were glad of The Story of her entry thither, for they established the Festival of PURIM to celebrate her wonderful accomplishment of the Deliverance from the "Macedonians" or Seleucids. Moreover, they keep up that Festival to this day; and at the Service in commemoration they read the Book of ESTHER as the Lesson.

We may conclude our study with the firm assertion that from 300 B.C. onwards there was among the Jewish people a genuine willingness and an earnest desire to see all men enjoying the blessing of knowledge of IAHWEH's Love. The ordinary fancy that Jews hated all other men, and refused religious fellowship with them, is a mistake, and it has produced great injury to all. Let us believe that wiser ways are coming.

How wonderful that all this was done long before Christianity began around JESUS!

Our study of the Jewish Religion B.C. as seen in the Ethics of the People crystallized in the different Books of Wisdom, and in the Ethics of the Elders as recorded in the Great Second Book of Doctrine, called "The Mishnah" and "The Talmud," must be deferred for a second volume. There will be given also a study of the Sacred Songs in the Psalms, of the Re-erection of the Kingdom, and of the Messianic and Apocalyptic Faiths.

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